

TRIALS, TRANSITION, AND TRADE OFFS: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE
EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ADJUSTMENT EXPERIENCE OF SUDANESE
REFUGEES IN SOUTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

School of Education in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Social and Comparative Analysis in Education

University of Pittsburgh

2008

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

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Abstract

This qualitative study examines the broad acculturation experience of Sudanese refugees and how they perceive that formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences provide pathways for the social, political, and economic influences of their adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania. It contributes to the literature beyond findings of many refugee studies in the specific examination of Sudanese refugees in a non-gateway metropolitan area, with a focus other than economic or occupational adjustment.

The resettlement agency's principal focus has been assisting the refugees at their point of landing through an initial period toward the objective of self-sufficiency in the economic environment of the United States in compliance with the United States Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) stated Resettlement Program guidelines. The success of that resettlement policy is dependent on so many factors beyond the control of the resettlement agencies charged with compliance with the program objectives. Part of the challenge with this study is that there is limited involvement with the refugees after they have met the initial requirements for the fast track to employment, which satisfies the United States Resettlement Program. As is evidenced in this study the refugees' forced migration experiences and pre-migration education experiences are significant factors in their adjustment experience.

Another factor highlighted by this study for policy consideration is whether the refugee has some English speaking skills and ability as is supported by past research. The study participants in all cases are literate in the language of their homeland and in almost all cases have some English speaking language skills. Notwithstanding the remarkable resilience of the refugees and the persistence of the resettlement agency staff members and their resettlement program affiliates to reach federal government objectives, this study's findings offer considerations and recommendations for enhanced program effectiveness, notably offering more comprehensive services and providing better linkages to community agencies, especially those providing education.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I thank my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ for His favor, direction and empowerment to embark on and complete this journey of doctoral studies. His life, which typifies the experience of one of the earliest refugees, evident in the scriptural text, “I was a stranger and you welcomed me . . .” Matthew 25: 35b NIV, gave me sacred inspiration and continued motivation. Having been in the corporate environment for most of my life, it is my belief that this opportunity and achievement of this mammoth goal was only possible through divine intervention and is part of His purpose for my life, which continues to unfold. My God opened doors into the world of academia and equipped me with the knowledge and wisdom to enter. He continues the refining process in my scholarly development.

This dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful mother, a prayer warrior that has always believed in me beyond what I could believe in for myself. Her love and prayerful counsel have been a special blessing through this challenge and always. Her strength as the surviving matriarch in our family through the loss of her son, my brother and her sister, my aunt has been an exceptional model of a spirit filled woman whose example I aspire to emulate. My brother and aunt are missed yet their words of admonition to achieve this goal and belief that I could do it with God’s grace and blessings are a comfort.

Special thanks to my daughter, Alexis, a gifted and driven young woman, who has been my biggest cheerleader and a source of blessing offering scriptural reminders and firm words of encouragement always pushing me beyond my comfort zone.

To Ernest thank you for your words of encouragement to keep the faith in the process.

To my extended family, my church family thank you, Andrea for your assistance and library science expertise and to the prayer warriors for your persistent prayers and reinforcement of the scriptural truths that empowered me to overcome all of the obstacles and distractions toward my goal. To my ‘sisterfriend’, Erroline, thank you for your listening ear allowing me to vent, your prayerful support and your constant encouragement to ‘*Press On*’. To my ‘sisterfriend’, Renée, thank you for your tough love through prayerful monitoring to keep me on task and willingness to lend your technical expertise when needed. To my dear brother in Christ, Dr. Richard Morris thank you for your culturally literate special insights, personal experiences and scholarly admonition so that I would forge ahead to enjoy the ‘dance of joy’ in achievement.

To my colleagues from my Core course Study Group and Social Theories, Mary Esther, Simona, Leonora, Orlando and Macrina thank you for your enduring bond of friendship, creativity and discursive deliberation that encouraged me during the doctoral studies journey.

I offer special thanks to my dissertation chair and advisor, Dr. John C. Weidman whose positive attitude, persistent support and belief in me enabled me to reach my objective. Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Consuella Lewis, Dr. Maureen McClure and Dr. Valire Carr Copeland for your time, expertise and challenges to motivate and expand the view of my scholarship.

To Dr. David Post thank you for lighting the fire of interest in publishing and allowing me the introduction into that experience so that I may now further that interest and expand on my research.

I offer special appreciation to the Alliance of Urban Scholars (ALL of US) members, especially our ‘Sunday writing study group’, Alaine Allen, Rachael Berget, Renée Galloway, Renée Knox, Michele Scott-Taylor, Erroline Williams, our long-distance member Dana Thompson Dorsey and our gracious hostess Judith Touré for providing a consistent, supportive and safe environment for scholarly development. Special thanks to our faculty advisors Dr. Shirley Biggs, Dr. William Thomas, Dr. Consuella Lewis and Dr. Michael Gunzenhauser who advanced an enlightened and uplifted forum for our scholarly development.

I express my gratitude to Carl Orangis for his continual support and encouragement for me to complete my research, while working full-time. I offer appreciation to Dr. Susan English and her associates for the coaching and encouragement in this dissertation journey. I would like to thank Areena Pitts, for her expertise and assistance in the interview and transcription process and for her unending encouragement to me. I am grateful to Krista Freedman for the timeliness and expertise of her editing of my manuscript.

To all of the refugee participants of the study, the resettlement agency, the mutual assistance association, the members of the Collaborates of the metropolitan area and the community-school district-religious congregations, the English language training organization, members of the congregation and Sudanese Organization, thank you for enriching my life and research by allowing me to share in and explore your lived experiences. Thank you for the opportunity to be humbled and inspired. It is my privilege to share your experiences and my hope that it will be a contribution to the literature on education and refugee adjustment in resettlement and a contributing factor for improved strategy on the mutual accommodation of acculturation between refugees and the receiving community in resettlement.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The character of contemporary wars and their impact on civilians, particularly children, are of fundamental importance to humanity (Machel, 1996). Researchers, including a UNICEF report on *The State of the World's Children* (2001), stated that on any given day twenty or more armed conflicts are being fought around the world in poor countries. Destabilization in civil order has resulted in increasing population displacements (Allen, Vaage, & Hauff, 2006). These conflicts have resulted in men, women, and children fleeing war, religious and/or ethnic persecution, and political upheaval (International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], 2001; Vaysnshtok, 2000). They are uprooted with little warning, enduring great hardship during their flight and become refugees when they cross borders to seek safety in another country (ICRC, 2001). According to the 1951 United Nations Convention definition, a refugee is a person who, "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol).

This study explores the ways in which formal and non-formal education settings for interaction between Sudanese refugees and their receiving communities influence their social, political, and economic adjustment process. The stated primary goal of resettlement (location to a ‘third country’ that is not the country of origin or the country of first asylum or refuge) in the United States is refugee self-sufficiency, early employment, and integration into the host community. When refugees are relocated, especially to developed countries, they bring the physical and psychological wounds from their home countries and yet must also face the new adjustment demands of their host countries. The refugees who resettle in a ‘developed’ third country far from their homeland face the largest adjustment in terms of cultural, language differences and disparities in employment opportunities and ways of life (Goodkind, 2002). Newland’s (2002) and Sinclair’s (2001) research revealed that education facilitates the successful adjustment of refugees as a key-contributing factor to their psychosocial well-being (McBrien, 2005).

The extent and nature of the refugee experience is realized through global reporting by organizations such as Human Rights Watch and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The UNHCR is a multinational agency whose primary objectives include the protection of refugees worldwide and the enforcement of the provisions of the 1951 Convention regarding the status of refugees (Clark, 2004). In 1976, 2.7 million refugees were reported globally (UNHCR, 1997). By 2003, UNHCR reported an estimated increase in refugees to over 20 million. Doyle (2004) stated there were an estimated 175 million people living outside their country of birth. Refugee estimates in the 2005 World Refugee Survey were as high as 33 million.

The Migration Policy Institute notes that the UNHCR has identified three ‘durable solutions’ to refugee concerns, which include: voluntary return to the country of origin, local integration in the host community, or resettlement to a third country (Patrick, 2004). Planned resettlement has an important role to play in bringing exile or forced migration to an end. The United States has historically accepted more refugees for resettlement than all other countries combined, resettling approximately 2.7 million refugees since 1975 (U.S. Department of State, 2005) however, refugee admissions have been significantly reduced in recent years (Patrick, 2004). Prins and Slijper (2003) note that beginning in 1990 there was a turning point in asylum practices in Europe and North America. Allen et al. (2006) observed that refugee admissions, criteria for identification, and persecution became increasingly subject to political interests of receiving countries. Allen et al. (2006) noted that rates of recognition of asylum applications declined in the European Union (EU) and ultimately resulted in forced repatriation of asylum seekers and even border closing to refugees. Those actions represented a qualitative shift away from a strategy of protection for asylum seekers and refugees. Holman (1996) stated that the long and deeply rooted tradition of the United States of accepting refugees from all parts of the world would be tested as the nation’s immigration and refugee policies would come under detailed and critical reexamination.

Although representative of approximately 10 percent of the annual immigration to the United States, refugees are a distinct component of the foreign-born population in many of the United States’ metropolitan areas (Singer & Wilson, 2007). The Migration Policy Institute captured data for refugee resettlement by metropolitan area and decade from 1983 through 2004 that indicated a significant downturn in refugee admissions in the United States in the period following September 11, 2001.

As a result of decades of civil war, Sudanese were forced from their homes in southern Sudan in the early 1990s, some when they were children. The dangerous treks from Sudan to Ethiopia and then to Kenya were filled with government bombings, starvation, and alligator attacks (Bolea, Grant, Burgess, & Plasa, 2003). Originally 17,000 to 25,000 Sudanese youth fled their country. Fewer than 11,000 arrived at the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya between 1992 and 1994 (Bolea et al., 2003). In cooperation with the UNHCR the United States State Department Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration designated Priority Two (P-2) status to more than 3,400 Sudanese youth. This designation resulted in refugee status for at least 3,600 Sudanese, predominantly young men, including approximately 200 unaccompanied minors, in the fall of 2000 throughout 2001, to escape their lives of forced migration and start a new way of life in the United States (Cultural Orientation Project, 2002). The Sudanese refugees were dispersed throughout the United States to various major cities (Kriner, 2001). Some of the cities included Chicago, New York, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Boston, Grand Rapids, and others (Martin, 2005), including a city in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Social service agencies, institutions, churches, and individuals were available to assist in their resettlement and adjustment to their new environment. This study seeks to use qualitative inquiry to explore the challenges and the triumphs of adjustment in resettlement for Southern Sudanese refugees in a city in Southwestern Pennsylvania through examination of their patterns of acculturation, collaboration of agencies, institutions, and service providers associated with their resettlement.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

The twentieth century has been called the ‘century of the refugee’ (Colson, 2003). The increase in research in the domain of those forcibly uprooted has led to this characterization. Malkki (1995) pointed to the plight of refugees as the result of the destabilization of the under-developed nation state from rapid decolonization of the 1960s. The departure of superpowers from third world countries was marked by too few resources, inadequate infrastructure but ample supplies of weapons (Malkki, 1995; Schechtmann, 1963). Conflicts frequently characterized as ‘tribal wars’ or ‘ethnic clashes,’ are fuelled and/or financed by countries, corporations, and individuals with strategic interests. None of these ‘so-called’ internal conflicts could exist for long without markets in affluent parts of the world. Global businesses, some of which are legal or some illegal, have spawned international complicity that makes war not just possible but highly profitable (Machel, 2001). Graça Machel (2001) followed her 1996 Report entitled, “The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children,” presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations, with assessment and analysis of the progress and obstacles encountered in efforts to secure the rights and protection of children in armed conflict. Machel’s update highlighted continued tragic instances of recruits forced at even younger ages that are suffering increased violence, separation from families and communities, and are being sexually exploited. Machel (2001) further noted that the rise of HIV/AIDS has elevated the danger for children and youth to an unimaginable level. However, Machel (2001) also noted the promise of information technologies used in family reunification, the role of women as agents of peace in family and community reconstruction, and the significant role of education as a stabilizing influence and safe haven for communal care, learning and support.

The promise uncovered by the work of Machel (2001) provides an important linkage and interest for the researcher to this study. The idea to undertake this kind of study is an outgrowth of both the personal and academic interests of the researcher. The researcher's personal involvement with young people as a youth director in an outreach community ministry has been a passion and vocation. That ministry as part of an evangelical church in the inner city, with a strong missions program abroad, approved resettlement agency volunteer and adult literacy tutor, has afforded opportunities for exploration and experimentation with educational strategies for youth in Southwestern Pennsylvania and Liberia, West Africa. Being acquainted with the crisis of armed conflict and the Liberian youth at the school affiliated with the church ministry was an invaluable resource for the researcher's study on the reintegration of child soldiers in West Africa. The researcher's involvement and support, via Dr. Kenneth Barbour and the local evangelical church, of the Liberian Education Assistance Program (LEAP, 1999), the Friends of Liberia Teacher Training Project, further nurtured an interest in the study of how faith in action and restorative education strategies could facilitate pathways to adjustment for Sudanese refugees, who were civilian targets of armed conflict, now navigating the unfamiliar landscape of resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

1.2.1 Sudan

This section provides an abbreviated review of some of the cultural, social, political, and economic factors associated with the Sudanese refugee displacement history.

Sudan is the largest country in Africa. Since independence in 1956, Sudan has been at war with itself. In the last 20 years, over two million Sudanese have been killed; over four million

have been internally displaced; and hundreds of thousands have been forced to become refugees (Dyer, 2002; Holtzmann, 2000). The CIA Worldfact Book (2007) states that military regimes favoring Islamic-oriented governments have dominated Sudanese national politics since independence from the United Kingdom in 1956. The United States Committee for Refugees (USCR) (2007) identified several critical causes for the internal conflict: racial tension between the Black non-Muslim southerners and the northern Muslim Arabs, religious strife between the Muslims in the North and the Christians in the South, and Northern government forces fighting Southern rebel forces. There are 70% Sunni Muslims primarily in the north, 25% of the Sudanese that practice indigenous beliefs and 5% of the Sudanese that are Christians reside primarily in the southern part of the country. The CIA Worldfact Book (2007) characterized the conflicts in Sudan as being rooted in northern economic, political, and social domination of largely non-Muslim, non-Arab southern Sudanese. A brief peace extended from the 1970s until the early 1980s. Sudan has not escaped the effects of the profitability and exploitation of war noted earlier. Large oil finds made in Bentiu, southern Sudan in 1978 became another important factor in the strife between North and South (CIA Worldfact Book-Sudan Timeline, 2004). Yet there has always been inter-tribal conflict in the South and the North provided arms to support the insurgence. Shandy (2002) commented on this enduring conflict noting that it is impossible to disentangle the threads of religion, ethnicity, and control over resources, including oil, which feed the current civil war that has raged since 1983 (Deng, 1995; Hutchinson, 1996; Johnson, 1994; Jok and Hutchinson, 1999). The scope of the impact of the extended fighting resulted in more than 4 million Sudanese remaining internally displaced and over 420,000 Sudanese refugees living in neighboring countries such as Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya, Congo-Kinshasa, Central African Republic, Chad and Egypt. More than two million Sudanese have been victims

of the country's civil war. This loss represents *one in every five* Sudanese according to estimates of the USCR Refugee Reports for 2000. Martin (2005) highlighted one of the few researchers, Herman (1992) that has tracked the scope of the extreme exposure to loss, threats, and encounters with death experienced by the Sudanese refugees in relation to their resettlement experience. Herman (1992) purports that the traumatic nature of their 'trials' associated with their forced migration have the potential to overwhelm human adjustment and adaptation in their new receiving society.

When voluntary and involuntary migrants and/or refugees end up in a new receiving country with its new and different culture, the pre-migration experience, overall community context, and the demands of differing life spheres within that context all have significant implications for the acculturation process in the receiving society in resettlement (Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002). Adjustment, or the process of integration and change of the immigrant in the new sociocultural environment (Kolm, 1980), to the United States hinges on a complex set of factors associated with the specific effects of forced migration as well as those existing conditions of the receiving society (Haines, 1996). School and other educational settings are the major arenas for inter-group contact and acculturation as schools represent and introduce new culture to immigrants and refugees (Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). The process of adaptation to a new society involves intricate communication transactions in which immigrants try to make sense of what they expect and what is expected from them in their new settings (Horenczyk, 1996; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; as cited in Vedder & Horenczyk, 2006). This study employs the Berry (2001) multidimensional acculturation construct to understand the adjustment experience of the Sudanese refugees. Using the settings of formal and non-formal education experiences, group and individual levels of acculturative contact, and different

mechanisms of influence on both the refugee-group and the host/receiving community cultures will be examined (Berry, 2001).

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The literature review on refugee resettlement in the United States to date raised several issues, which prompted further interest in Sudanese refugee resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania. A number of studies combine refugees with immigrants (Ondis, 1980; Rumbaut, 1989; Haines, 1981, 1996; Hein, 1993; Markovic & Manderson, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Pryor, 2001; Fix, Zimmerman, & Passel, 2001; Cowart & Cowart, 2002). Generally speaking, a refugee is any individual who has left their homeland and resettled in another country. Consequently, they may be considered immigrants. However, the unique circumstances of human rights violations associated with involuntary departure due to escape from violence and persecution adds another dimension to the immigrant who is categorized as a refugee. A significant body of literature researches the Vietnamese, Southeast Asian, Bosnian, and Albanian refugee resettlement in the United States, noting a few studies on the Somali refugees in Canada (Sokoloff, Carlin, & Pham, 1984; Cheng, 1998; Haines, 1996, 1997; Ascher, 1985; Nguyen & Henkin, 1980; Mosselson, 2002; Colson, 2003; Clark, 2004; Burgess, 2004; Mohamed, 2001).

Although the civil wars have raged and are ongoing in African countries such as Angola, Sudan and Sierra Leone, there is comparatively little research on these populations (Cusack, 2001; Mohamed, 2001; Warriner, 2003; Martin, 2005; McBrien, 2005). There has been inadequate attention in social and policy research associated with resettled African refugees,

possibly because it is only since the 1990s that there has been an increase in the number of African refugees resettling in the developed Western countries. Therefore, there is a paucity of research on the cultural, social, economic, and political ramifications of African refugee resettlement in the industrialized Western countries (Ugbe, 2006).

African refugees differ from their Asian counterparts in that the Asians have been here for several decades and have established strong ethnic enclaves that provide a critical mass for ethnic microenterprises to prosper that enable refugee newcomers to more easily adapt in finding jobs, have language support, and find cultural affinity (Ugbe, 2006). Traditional refugees, typically Eastern Europeans, were the focus of attention until the 1960s, as products of the Cold War (Stein, 1981). The new refugees after the 1960s shifted the interest from Eastern Europe to Africa, Asia and Latin America. In 2001, 78 percent of all refugees came from 10 areas: Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Eritrea, Iraq, the Palestinian territories, Somalia, and Sudan (Allen et al., 2006). Sudan remains among the top three African sending countries in the Department of Homeland Security 2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics listing from 1997 to 2006. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Office of Refugee Resettlement statistics for FY2003 through February 2007 documented the top three African sending countries with 38,533 refugee admissions from Somalia; 17,384 refugee admissions from Liberia; and 10,177 refugee admissions from Sudan.

When individuals become refugees due to political unrest, economic and /or social deprivation, wars, among other things, they become vulnerable. They can either remain persistently victimized because they are abandoned or they can be helped in a way that enables them to find a new and productive life. Malkki (1995) raised concerns that a research focus on 'refugees' relegates refugees to a victim status and dehumanizes or dehistoricizes the refugee

(1997). This study considers the Sudanese refugees as active participants in and not victims of the development of their modes of acculturation.

There is little research available on the acculturation of Sudanese refugees. There is even less research available regarding the influence of education on their acculturation patterns of Sudanese refugees in resettlement in the United States. According to the UNHCR Education Field Guidelines (2003), education is a key to sustainable protection and the hope for a better future for refugees. The UNHCR Education Field Guidelines (EFG)¹ state that education is a basic human right. The UNHCR EFG terminology and National Center for Education Statistics offer useful definitions for formal and non-formal education, which will be adopted for this study:

- *Formal Education* encompasses *Basic Education*, which refers to a system of providing primary and lower secondary education as well as alternative education programs for out-of-school youth and adults.
- *Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Education* refer to the administrative categories, which divide the formal school system into grades. Primary education usually refers to the stage of schooling oriented towards key ‘school-leaving examinations,’ and ‘tertiary’ refers to university and other professional/technical courses with similar requirements. Formal educational activities include English as a Second Language (ESL) classes; basic skills or General Educational Development (GED) preparation classes; college or university degree or certificate programs; vocational or technical school diploma, degree, or certificate programs, and apprenticeship programs; and similar work-related courses or training that were not part of a college or vocational degree, diploma, or certificate programs.
- *Non-formal Education* refers to the provision of education, which is organized in less formal settings and environments and with less structured activities, which do not necessarily lead to recognized certificates and diplomas. Non-formal Education may include such activities as vocational trainings, life skills education and adult literacy classes. (UNHCR, 2007, p59)

¹ The UNHCR Education: Field Guidelines (2003) replaces the 1995 Education Guidelines and elaborates the UNHCR’s commitment to improve education assistance to refugees and other persons of concern. The publication is significant to the Millennium Development Goals and the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All in which there is strong commitment by the UNHCR to the fulfillment of the goals of the world community.

The predominant theme of needs met by education as a humanitarian response to crisis includes: sense of safety, sense of self, and an adjustment to the cultural expectations of a new country while maintaining a connection to their heritage (McBrien, 2005). The description of the needs met and adjustment achieved when education, formal and non-formal, is applied as a humanitarian response supports Berry's theory on an integrative mode of acculturation. Detailed information on education strategies in resettlement occupies a prominent place in the Welcome Guidebook to the United States from the Cultural Orientation Resource Center. The booklet outlines the merits of education in resettlement and the accessibility to everyone, regardless of age, in the United States (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2004). Pryor (2001) in a study of Bosnian, Albanian, and other refugee and immigrant students in a city in Michigan found that the refugees viewed education, specifically acquisition of English, as important to their future success in their new country (as cited in McBrien, 2005). The UNHCR strongly suggests that education is not a luxury but is vital in restoring hope and dignity to people driven from their homes. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) conducted a study of immigrants in a particular area of education, specifically language acquisition, in the context of psychosocial adjustment and identity. They suggested that children's acculturation and sense of continuity with their parents are directly related to their language retention and acquisition, which also affects their academic achievement. Although most literature does not address refugees specifically, studies confirm the significance of education with regard to immigrant students with English language skills being better adjusted (McBrien, 2005). The literature also indicated that those immigrant students with heavy accents or who had poor English language skills were ridiculed, and some who used their native or first language skills were punished (Olsen, 1988, 2000).

Increasing negative rhetoric about the place of immigrants and refugees in the United States, the importance of English language skills, and relevance of immigrant and immigration policies or legislation on both local and national levels have created a context for the study of the Sudanese refugee acculturation experience from both the refugee and receiving society perspectives and their respective responses to intercultural contact. The UNHCR Education Strategy for 2007-2009 emphasizes the importance of the quality of education and indicates that UNHCR should support systematic enrichment of the school curriculum with life skills and values education, as well as promote quality education through teacher training and the development of quality learning materials.

After arriving in the United States, the forced migrants or refugees from Sudan attempt to reestablish themselves and rebuild their lives in a new environment. The process of rebuilding is referred to as adaptation in the field of migration studies (Mohamed, 2001). Refugees from Sudan come to the United States with distinct sociocultural traits that have little or no resemblance to those common to people from a developed country. In addition the Sudanese indigenous experience is not homogenous. There are approximately 34.5 million people from as many as 400 different ethnic groups. Arabic speaking Muslims dominate the North, while there are at least 100 different languages spoken in the South where most Southern Sudanese follow indigenous beliefs or have become Christians. For the Sudanese refugees, there are significant differences between the Sudanese cultures and the culture of the city in Southwestern Pennsylvania in which they have been resettled. There is a need for adjustment or adaptation by both the refugees and the receiving society. Education is an important tool to help refugees get back on their feet and build a better future.

The Brookings Institute Study (Singer & Wilson, 2006) on Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America, which was funded by Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative was the first report on United States metropolitan destinations for refugees for those admitted between 1983 and 2004. That study linked refugee resettlement to metropolitan areas and highlighted differences across localities with respect to service provision and demographic change within receiving areas. Sudan was ranked among the top 15 of the 30 largest sending countries. The Southwestern Pennsylvania community, in which the Sudanese refugees of this study have resettled, is not listed as a leading metropolitan refugee destination or as a newer immigrant gateway area. That dynamic may or may not be a factor in Sudanese adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Twenty-seven years after the United States Refugee Act was passed, more than two million refugees have been resettled across communities in the United States. The Brookings Institute Study (2006) provides insights into atypical refugee/immigrant destinations similar to the area of resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

This study will explore the patterns of acculturation in the experiences of the Sudanese refugees in the process of adjusting to the sociocultural environment in a city in Southwestern Pennsylvania not typically considered a gateway city for refugee resettlement. This study will examine how formal and non-formal education settings serve to bridge the spheres of political, economical, and social influence that shape the acculturation experience of the Sudanese refugees. This study will elicit the perceptions of the Sudanese refugees of how their formal and non-formal education experiences have enabled them to cross the boundaries of cultural differences and navigate the difficult struggles of daily life. Demographic data in the table below extracted from Census 2000, illustrate the fabric of the cultural landscape in this area of resettlement.

Table 1 *Demographic Data Illustrating the Cultural Landscape*

	Pennsylvania	Southwest Pennsylvania area	USA
Foreign Born Persons (percent 2000)	4.1%	3.8%	11.1%
Language other than English spoken at home	8.4%	6.6%	17.9%
Population 2005 estimate	12,429,616	1,235,841	296,410,404
Persons under 18 yrs	22.7%	21.1%	24.8%
White persons (estimated percent, 2005)	86.0%	83.6%	80.2%
Black persons (estimated percent 2005)	10.6%	13.1%	12.8%
Asian persons (estimated percent 2005)	2.2%	2.1%	4.3%
Hispanic or Latino origin	4.1%	1.0%	14.4%
White persons not Hispanic	82.6%	82.7%	66.9%

Source: US Census Bureau 2000 data- State and County People Quick Facts from
<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/42000.html>

1.4 PURPOSE

Most of us will never find ourselves living in an environment where we do not understand the culture or know the rules. However, from time to time it might be helpful to think about how we would cope if we were in an environment where everything was unfamiliar and we lacked the language capacity to make ourselves understood in even the most basic of situations. What would we need to learn? Who would assist us in finding our way? (<http://www.tolerance.org/index.jsp>)

The purpose of this study is to explore the broad acculturation experience of Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania and the various factors that influence that process. Formal and non-formal education is critical to the economic, social, and political adjustment of refugees and immigrants in the resettlement process in the United States, generally, and Southwestern Pennsylvania, in particular. According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, nearly one person in five (or 47 million U.S. residents age five and older) spoke a language other than English at home in the year 2000.

The United States recognizes resettlement as a durable solution to the plight of refugees. The Council of Europe (2004) Resolutions on education for refugees and internally displaced persons recognized that education is central to resettlement in Recommendation 1652. Education builds personal self-reliance and provides for the ‘human capital’ needed for the future reconstruction and economic development of areas of origin or settlement (UNHCR–EFG, 2003). The stated primary goal of the resettlement program in the United States is refugee self-sufficiency, early employment, and integration into the host community. Resettling in the United

States of America brings along with it a new set of challenges for refugees, especially those whose native language is not English.

For some refugees this way of life may be more difficult than for others. When issues of race are added to the mix the trajectory of the challenge may change. For example, the ‘newer’ nonwhite refugees that arrived in the post-1965 period may find it more challenging to adapt than for the ‘traditional’ pre-1965 refugees of European descent. The refugees that have arrived in the post-1965 period were phenotypically and culturally distinct from the ‘traditional’ refugees (Johnson, Farrell, & Guinn, 1997). The earlier refugees of the pre-1965 period more closely resembled the Anglo-Americans in their cultural patterns and physical characteristics (Johnson & Oliver, 1989, as cited in Johnson, Farrell, & Guinn, 1997). Black African refugees may find it more challenging to adapt than eastern European refugees. Portes (1997) stated, “Discrimination against non whites and changing requirements of the American labor market create obstacles for economic progress and the fulfillment of rising aspirations among many second generation youth” (Portes, 1997, p. 815) . Victims of discrimination can experience lasting effects on their self-perceptions, social interactions, motivation, and achievement (Portes & Rumbaut,; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Haines (1996) adds to this idea when he stated, “There is additional variation in resettlement because of the different faces that American society presents to particular refugee populations in particular locations at particular times” (p. 28). Without education and needed language skills, what is at stake is the preparation of such persons for life in society, employment, and for democratic citizenship (Council of Europe, 2004).

This qualitative study will elicit the perceptions of the Sudanese refugees, a largely underrepresented group in the literature on immigration, in the process of adjusting to the sociocultural environment in Southwestern Pennsylvania, to tell their own stories of how their

formal and non-formal educational experiences impact or shape their responses to mechanisms that they employ to cope with the challenges of adjustment that they face in the culture of Southwestern Pennsylvania. As the number of forced migrant learners continues to grow, educators and refugee service providers are seeking innovative and culturally relevant strategies to serve them. This study endeavors to provide input and insight into those strategies.

The research questions outlined below guide the study.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. What (personal, professional, financial, and socioeconomic) needs and goals are perceived as important in resettlement by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania?
2. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal and non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
3. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/non-formal education experience has affected their occupational adjustment in Southwestern PA?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study includes but is not limited to, the following: It contributes to the research on the adjustment experiences of Sudanese refugees, in particular, and to other refugees in general, specifically on how formal and non-formal education impact refugees' acculturation;

it provides awareness to all who are interested in refugees' issues in Southwestern Pennsylvania on how formal and non-formal educational experiences enhance or inhibit interaction and adaptation of Sudanese refugees to Southwestern Pennsylvania; it informs those working directly with refugees' institutions, such as service providers, in the United States and elsewhere about some of the useful integrative strategies that are currently being employed during formal and non-formal education experiences of refugees to reduce acculturative stress; it serves as a guide to policymakers on refugee adjustment issues and what key things must be done at the policy dimension to facilitate the well-being of refugees; and finally, this study is useful to refugees as they seek to understand the impact of formal and non-formal education on their lives both initially in their transition process and on their socioeconomic well-being in the long term.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Sudanese refugees resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania since the fall of 2000 through present are the subjects of this research. Prior to this period, there were few Sudanese in Southwestern Pennsylvania and in the United States overall. The fall of 2000 and throughout 2001 was the largest, organized wave of Sudanese refugees to settle in the United States from the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya for resettlement to the United States. Their numbers and sudden arrival generated reactions from the host society that would affect their adjustment.

There may be some concern on the limited application of the findings to Sudanese refugees' circumstances, capacities and sociocultural peculiarities.

The research focus of this study is on the formal and non-formal education experiences that bridge the social, political, and economic influences on the adjustment of Sudanese refugees through the lens of acculturation processes. The study considers the interaction of the personal experiences of the Sudanese refugees to the concepts of institutions and service delivery and policies to the acculturation process. Important aspects of economic and political adjustment indicators will not be explored in detail but only as related to the sociocultural adaptation patterns of Sudanese refugees.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The metaphor of crossing borders offers an interesting and useful approach to the study on the educational implications of refugee adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania by virtue of the refugees' life experiences crossing borders to escape human rights violations and overcoming the political, cultural, socioeconomic and personal boundaries in the environments of the resettlement location.

This study begins with Chapter One as an introduction to the context of the global crisis and mitigating factors contributing to the focal point of the issue identified, refugee adjustment, in a specific locale for this study, Southwestern Pennsylvania. The background of the study is used to provide a brief historical account on the life and culture of the Sudanese refugees related to the conflict in Sudan and their departure from Sudan, which lead to the resettlement experience being studied. The background also has a brief discussion of the interests and relevance of the researcher to the study. Chapter Two reviews the related literature in various

disciplines regarding the ‘Trials’ or those concepts on forced migration, including literature, that highlight the differentiation between refugees or immigrants. The refugee experience in resettlement is the focus of this study. The theoretical framework, acculturation theory, in which the study is grounded, is covered in the next portion of the review of literature. The modes of acculturation are descriptive of the ‘Transition’ that refugees experience in third country resettlement. The literature review on acculturation theory encompasses literature related to immigration and integration legislation that have an effect on the resettlement experience. This chapter also contains a brief section on the history of the United States Resettlement and Refugee Programs to provide context to the existing conditions of the receiving community associated with this study. The next section of the chapter is focused on literature on the educational aspect of adjustment specifically the literature on formal, non-formal, and informal education/learning opportunities relevant to refugee adjustment in resettlement. This section cites research in the areas of formal, non-formal and informal education experiences that provide pathways where refugees may shape their responses or ‘Trade Offs’ to mechanisms that they employ to cope with the challenges of adjustment that they face in the culture of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

Chapter Three describes the design and research approach of the study. It relates the description of the context and framework that guided the research to the selection of participants, data collection, and analysis methods and discusses the limitations of the research approach.

Chapter Four describes the findings and results from the individual interviews which are substantiated by historic secondary data from the resettlement agency; field notes from observation and participation in acculturation experiences through formal, non-formal and informal education classes held by the resettlement agency or with their resettlement partners of the mutual assistance association or the English language training non-profit organization; and

documentation from the planning and review meetings of the Project Freedom Celebrating Learning Collaborative association.

Chapter Five captures the conclusions and research and policy implications of the study in the examination of the broad acculturation experience of the Sudanese refugees in how they perceived that their formal, non-formal and informal education experiences provided pathways for the social, political and economic influences of their adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania. This chapter suggests first steps with policy implications toward more effectively relating refugee perceived needs to adjustment outcomes of program objectives.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 TRIALS

2.1.1 Forced Migration Experience

Migration, particularly forced migration, is at historically high levels. An internal debate is continually fueled over concern for those affected by violence and sectarian strife, which feeds a humanitarian crisis on the one hand, and also a concern for the preservation of familiar communities that are changing as the new international neighbors are introduced. Doyle's (2004) summary in the "Challenges of Worldwide Migration" pointed to a need for a systematic approach to managing migration to control the political, cultural, and socioeconomic effects on both the sending or developing and receiving or developed countries. Doyle (2004) highlighted with caution the favorability of global conditions that make desired migration possible for actors with physical and fiscal capacity to cross borders. Forced migration refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) and differs from voluntary migration at its core because the migrants affected have *no* desire to leave the country of origin (International Association for the Study of Forced Migration [IASFM], 2001). The underlying premises for Doyle's (2004) considerations are the similarities of processes in which societies and cultures influence one another and become more alike through trade, immigration, and exchange of

information, but acculturation places emphasis on the changes taking place between two individuals and cultures where globalization encompasses several societies and cultures and how they become alike or harmonized (Sam, 2006). O'Neill and Spybey (2003) noted, "Forced migration, is not a modern phenomenon, in terms of war, ethnic cleansing, economic migration, through natural and environmental catastrophes. It has come to be known as the 'refugee problem' or 'refugee crisis'" (p. 7). The concept of forced migration is complex in that it comprises a number of phenomena and often overlaps other forms of migration (IASFM, 2001).

The dynamics of forced migration/involuntary displacement are found in three main causes—conflict, development induced, and natural disaster/the environment. Of these three causes, the forced migration dynamics related to conflict are applicable to the focus of this study as a key-contributing factor to outcomes in refugee resettlement. Certain forces cause refugees to migrate in search of safety, security, and opportunity for a better life. Doyle's (2004) descriptions of the voluntary immigrants and/or involuntary forced migrants illustrate the range of variable nature, needs, and skills of those entering the countries of resettlement. The voluntary or involuntary migrants include the skilled Nigerian computer engineer working in Sweden, the agricultural worker from Guatemala working 'irregularly' in the United States (without legal documentation), the woman trafficked from Ukraine to Bosnia, and the refugee from Afghanistan now in Pakistan preparing to return home (Doyle, 2004). Refugee experiences are defining ones for them and for everyone who has witnessed their lives (Pipher, 2002). The losses suffered by refugees far exceed the imaginations of most Americans. Berger (2004) corroborated the two predominant factors of consideration in forced migration theory: push and pull factors. He advanced the description of the push factors, which include persecution on a

social, religious, political, and/or economic basis, which constitutes the ‘push’ force of expulsion from the homeland in forced migration.

Dorsh deVoe (1981) stressed the importance of understanding the impact and event of flight in the lives of refugees for appropriate analysis of refugee needs, problems, and programs. He suggested that the events and the aftermath have meaning beyond the functional, instrumental forms of physical survival; it is clear in statements from refugees that the survival of their ethnic identity or ethos is essential and is threatened not only by the event of flight, but also its aftermath (deVoe, 1981). Kunz’s (1973) research and Kinetic models differentiated the anticipatory planned departure and arrival at a known destination for immigrants and selected ‘refugee settlers’ from the unplanned, undesirable forced expulsion or departure and unknown destination of the refugee experiencing acute flight. Kunz’s research further examined the differentiation within vintages and between groups of forced migrants.

Forced migration has grown dramatically in the post-Cold War era. The global refugee population, those fleeing from their countries of origin due to persecution, has grown exponentially, reaching 18.2 million in 1993 (Castles, 2003) with estimates of 33 million based on the 2005 World Refugee Survey. The number of internally displaced persons, those people who were forced to flee from their homes but who did not cross an international border, has also increased dramatically. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that there are about 150 million people currently living outside their country of origin, which is approximately two percent of the world’s population (as cited in Castles, 2003). The World Bank estimated that there are approximately 10 million people per year who are displaced for development reasons (Castles, 2003). The result of the development may mean that some of the individuals displaced may rebuild their livelihoods but many are permanently impoverished and

marginalized (Cernea & McDowell, 2000; World Commission on Dams, 2000) (as cited in Castles, 2003).

Another type or focus of forced migration that has risen in prominence, but that is not typically listed as one of the three major causes is trafficking of people across international boundaries for purposes of exploitation (Castles, 2003). Specifically, the trafficking of women and children for the sex industry has been documented worldwide (Castles, 2003). The topics of gender and forced migration have evolved into the study of gender and development issues and were key agenda items at international events such as the 1985 Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi and the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. These conferences highlighted the difference in experience and impact of gender-based violence against women and children as opposed to men. It was specifically noted that “women and girls are particularly vulnerable because of their disadvantaged position in society in general: they are the majority of the poor, have less access to education and employment opportunities and are less mobile because of their traditional productive and reproductive roles. . . . There are many examples throughout history of the widespread physical, psychological, and sexual torturing and injuring of women and girls during armed conflicts. Most of these acts were ignored or condoned, treated as ‘inevitable’ and part of the general climate of violence and exploitation of females” (FMO Thematic Guide: Gender and Forced Migration, Ward, 2002). Gallagher (2002) discussed that although trafficking affects mainly women and children, there are also cases of men forced into debt bondage by trafficking gangs (as cited in Castles, 2003). Castles (2003) stated, “The growth in people trafficking is a result of the restrictive immigration policies of rich countries” (p. 15). Research documents that internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other refugee groups, including those in the plight of human trafficking, share common elements in the form of high levels of human

rights violations (HRV) and related trauma exposure (Amowitz et al., 2002). The destruction of civil order that typically creates the conditions for HRVs undermines the five major adaptive systems supporting the psychological equilibrium of individuals and communities: personal safety, attachment and bond maintenance, justice, existential-meaning, and identity/role functioning (Allen et al., 2006). Allen et al. (2006) detailed the effects of HRVs on the five major adaptive systems:

The personal safety system is negatively affected HRV trauma through the perception of threat engendered. The attachment and bond maintenance system is impacted by multiple experiences of actual and symbolic loss, impacting the inter-personal bonds. The justice system is affected by the injustice of the human rights violations, and their often unmitigated or even unacknowledged nature. The existential-meaning system is shaken by a loss of faith in human beneficence resulting from exposure to the cruelty of the human rights violations. Finally, one of the key aims of torture and human rights violations is to undermine identity, sense of cohesion, and agency in individuals and communities, through insult to the identity/role system. (p. 202)

Silove (1999) emphasized the importance of acculturation in understanding the resilience processes in refugees, because it describes a key characteristic of successful adaptation within the identity/role-system of a refugee, with additional linkages to the attachment and existential-meaning systems (as cited in Allen et al., 2006). The Silove (1999) integrated human rights framework linked refugee trauma experience to both its psychosocial meanings and its subsequent impact upon adaptation, which also links refugee acculturation to the process of meaning-making and adaptation. The integrated human rights framework of Silove (1999) provided a mechanism to go beyond refugee research that is only focused on symptoms

associated with PTSD. Berry (1997) posited that individuals exposed to a new cultural context experience a “complex pattern of continuity and change in how [they] go about their lives” (p. 6). For refugees, the complexity intensifies because of the premigration, or precontact, experience with HRV trauma (Marsella, Bornemann, Ekblad, & Orley, 1994). This study adopts the Berry framework adapted to acculturation among refugees that emphasizes the group and individual levels of analysis, the impact of acculturative contact, and the different mechanisms of influence upon members of the refugee group culture and the receiving-country culture. The Berry model is discussed later in the study in detail.

2.1.2 Refugees or Immigrants

Throughout the international migration theory literature, the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘immigrant’ were used interchangeably. While refugees are labeled under the broad concept ‘immigrant,’ ‘refugee’ is indeed a special category of immigrant.

A body of literature has been dedicated to the realist and nominalist debate within the field of international migration on whether refugees are fundamentally distinct from immigrants, or whether the category is a social construction masking similarities with immigrants (Hein, 1993). There are two reasons for including this important debate in the literature review: first, the literature regarding this discussion provides clarification on the definition of refugees, and second, the theory proposed in the debate emphasizes the relevance of *forced migration* in the refugee experience that distinguishes the experience of voluntary migrants or immigrants from refugees.

The nominalist view advanced the conceptualization that immigrants constituted an economic form of migration and that 'refugee' was simply a bureaucratic label applied by states for political motives. The realist view supported the conceptualization that violence, flight, and exile were definitive of the refugee experience, which was a sociological category demarcating discrete groups and behaviors (Hein, 1993). In consideration of the refugees from a global migration perspective, Hein (1993) highlighted the significance of the 1951 UN action that defined the refugee and emphasized that for government officials the key clause in the definition was 'well founded fear of persecution,' and for the social scientists, the significance was in the fact that refugees break ties with their home state and seek protection from a host state through migration (Hein, 1993). The UN Convention action of 1951 was in response to at least 7 million Europeans unable to return to their homelands (Marrus, 1985, as cited in Hein, 1993).

Until 1967, the Convention did not apply to refugees in the rest of the world. Hein (1993) stated further that the impact of the new refugees from the developing countries on foreign policy due to their numerical importance signaled the mix of political and demographic factors, which supported both the realist and nominalist perspectives. He also pointed to the work of Zolberg (1981) that discussed the inability of the world system to explain the historical process of state formation and its subsequent breakdown, which created refugees in particular countries (Hein, 1993). He cited the increase in the world population of those citizens protected by their nation-state and those who were not considered functioning members contributing to the growing population of displaced persons who remain in their home state but are persecuted or not protected by it. For example, the Kurds of Iraq and the Muslims of Bosnia were examples of such cases. These continued international crises lead to an increase in international institutions providing protection for refugees and subsequently indicated the weakening nation-state system

(Hein, 1993). Although the majority of causes associated with the migration of refugees were documented as typologies related to political factors of political persecution, violence, flight, and exile, the debate continued citing that the distinction remained problematic because political conditions have caused migration that resulted in deteriorating economic conditions, which supported the blended realist and nominalist perspectives.

In addition, Hein (1993) stated, “Analysis of western refugee policy has supported the nominalist perspective because who is or is not admitted as a refugee remains closely tied to foreign policy interests” (p. 55). He also posited that the key to determining in what ways refugees were distinct from immigrants was in conceptualizing refugees’ relationship to the state. Using the lens of global social conflict in the nation-state system to interpret the continued refugee crises and their associated consequences of political dynamics and state formation and transformation, a modified realist perspective was advanced to qualify the increasing global interdependence and the erosion of the stability of the national states (Hein, 1993). Hein (1993) continued with examination of the social organization of migration that the ‘push-pull’ theory that distinguishes between planned flight by immigrants and spontaneous flight by refugees has supported the realistic perspective.

Both refugees and immigrants use social networks to make their passage from homeland to host society, but the distinction for refugees who have resettled abroad is their inability to engage in circular migration as immigrants unless they choose repatriation, which is usually an undesirable option (Hein, 1993). Hein (1993) stated, “Refugees are more likely to view their condition as one of exile and to include migration in their social identity” (p. 55). Hein (1993) also cited the similarities between the immigrant and the refugee in adaptation to the host society regarding the commonality of demographic variables that predict employment status and

earnings for both refugee and immigrant, yet he acknowledged the important differences in the state intervention. Unlike immigrants the state intervention provides refugees with specific access to the social welfare system. The overall conclusion of the debate discussed in Hein's (1993) article suggested that there is a clearly a distinction between the refugee and the immigrant. A refugee may become or adjust to the status of an immigrant, but an immigrant is unlikely to ever become a refugee.

Hein (1993) stated, "The push-pull theory of international migration, which distinguishes between planned immigrant and spontaneous refugee movements, is the oldest of the realist perspectives on refugee migrations" (p. 49). E.F. Kunz's (1973) Kinetic² Model (1973) of flight is based on the conceptualization of the 'push-pressure-pull' construct as a motivational a kinetic model. Kunz (1973) developed this typology of migration as a follow up to Fairchild's early *Immigrant Backgrounds* (1927), which emphasized the importance of such immigrant characteristics as race, culture, and nationality. Fairchild's work became a theory of immigration studies that stated that the immigrant's background affected his future as settler (Kunz, 1973).

The experience of resettlement of refugees in Western nations has been a major component of foreign and domestic policies since the end of World War II (Lanphier, 1983). The rate of immigration and foreign-born residents in the United States is documented by the Urban Institute to represent approximately 12 percent of the U.S. population or 34 million immigrants. The nation is averaging approximately one million new lawful permanent residents (LPRs) and more than 500,000 new citizens annually from immigrants with origins throughout the world (Urban

² E.F. Kunz describes kinetics as the branch of dynamics that investigates the relations between the motions of bodies and the forces acting upon them. Dynamics, as used by Kunz, had a modified definition in its application to the refugee experience that did not include the implied self-propelling force. Kunz compared the forced 'pushed-pressure' migration movement of the refugees to a billiard ball devoid of inner direction. The refugee path is governed by the kinetic factors of inertia, friction, and the vectors of outside forces applied on them.

Institute, 2005). Starr and Roberts (1982) stated, “Stemming from the practical needs of different programs, research on the adaptation of refugees has generally focused upon two general topics: the psychological problems resulting from their experience and their subsequent patterns of occupational adjustment” (p. 596). Rumbaut’s IHARP Study stated that ‘Refugee economic self-sufficiency’ is the principal goal of U.S. refugee resettlement policy, as enunciated in the Refugee Act of 1980 (as cited in Haines, 1985). This aspect of economic adjustment of refugee resettlement is prominent in the literature, which is consistent with the priorities of both the refugee and the volunteer agencies that assist with resettlement objectives to accelerate refugee employment to end dependency on sponsors or the welfare system of the host society (Lanphier, 1983).

When refugees arrive in their host country, they begin a process of adaptation to the land, its culture, the people, and the language (Keel & Drew, 2004). Adaptation of refugees refers to the changes that take place in the individuals or groups in response to environmental, or social, demands and may take place immediately or over a long period of time (Berry, 1997). Another term frequently linked with adaptation of immigrants and refugees in the literature is ‘acculturation.’ Berry (2001) stated, “Acculturation is a process involving two or more groups, with consequences for both; in effect, however, the contact experiences have much greater impact on the non-dominant group and its members” (p. 616). At a group level acculturation involves a number of changes, such as economic, technical, social, cultural, and political (Berry, 2001). Birman (1994) and Williams and Berry (1991) posited that psychological, or individual-level, acculturation refers to changes in behavior, values, attitudes, and identity of an individual within the group and that change may differ to that of others within the group (as cited in Keel & Drew, 2004).

Adaptation of the refugee population in the United States is hinged on a complex set of factors: some related to the specific experiences that refugees bring with them, others to the specific environments they find in the United States, and still others to the effects of the programs designed to facilitate their transition in the American society (Haines, 1985).

In the literature on immigrant adaptation, the assimilation perspective has a dominant role in the sociological thinking on the subject (Zhou, 1997). The terms ‘assimilation’ and ‘acculturation’ are often used interchangeably. Zhou (1997) reviewed the assumptions central to the classical assimilation perspective that included the concept that there is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture and gain equal access to the opportunity structure of society; the process consists of the gradual relinquishing of old cultural and behavioral patterns in favor of newly gained ones. Zhou (1997) continued that once that process was set in motion the end result would be the inevitable and irreversible assimilation of the migrant. Assimilationists from the *Classical* perspective argue that the process of migration produces the ‘marginal man’ that is continually pulled in the direction of the host culture but is also drawn back by the culture of origin (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) (as cited in Zhou, 1997). Zhou (1997) stated, “This painful bipolar process, as Park sees it, entails a natural race relations cycle of contact, competition, accommodation (Park, 1928). Impacted by biotic forces (impersonal competition) and social forces (communication and cooperation), diverse immigrant groups from underprivileged backgrounds are expected to eventually abandon their old ways of life and completely ‘melt’ into the mainstream through residential integration and occupational achievement in a sequence of succeeding generations” (p. 976). Park (1928) emphasized the natural process that lead to the reduction of social and cultural heterogeneity to the neglect of structural constraints, but Warner and Srole (1945) highlighted the importance of institutional

factors such as social class, phenotypical ranking and racial/ethnic subsystems in the rate of assimilation using the same determinants residential and occupational mobility (Zhou, 1997). Warner and Srole (1945) posited that assimilation of ethnic minorities is especially problematic due to the subordination of minority groups because of ascribed characteristics (Zhou, 1997). They also argued that although differences in social status and economic opportunity based on culture and language would disappear over the course of several generations, the social mobility of readily identifiable minority groups, especially Blacks, would likely be confined within racial-caste boundaries (Zhou, 1997). Skin color, language of origin, and religion were identified as key factors in determining the level of acceptance of minorities by the dominant group. These factors combined with socioeconomic status set the pace for complete assimilation for various groups (Zhou, 1997).

Shibutani and Kwan (1965) advanced an interesting perspective from the Gordon (1964) perspective on structural assimilation on spatial isolation in *Ethnic Stratification* (1965). As Chicago school sociologists, Shibutani and Kwan (1965) proposed that how a person is treated in society depends “not on what he is,” but on the “manner in which he is defined” (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 838). Alba and Nee (1997) explained the perspective as people typically have assigned other people to categories based on expected behavior and treatment, to develop predictable patterns to apply to strangers out of their primary groups. Differences result in the creation of social distances through ranking and classifying. These distances became the foundation for the color line that segregates minorities and impedes assimilation (Alba & Nee, 1997). Shibutani and Kwan (1965) described social distance as the subjective state of nearness felt to certain individuals, not physical distance between groups (as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997).

Alba and Nee (1997) provided the following summary of Shibutani and Kwan's (1965) work below:

In their account, change in subjective states – reduction of social distance – precedes and stimulates structural assimilation, and not the reverse as implied in Gordon's hypothesis. When social distance is low there is a feeling of common identity, closeness, and shared experiences. But when social distance is high, people perceive and treat the other as belonging to a different category, and even after long acquaintance, there are still feelings of apprehension and reserve. Social distance may be institutionalized, as it is in the case of the color line, where stereotypes, customs, social norms, and formal institutional arrangements maintain a system of stratification that employs ethnic markers to determine differential access to opportunity structures (Merton, 1968). (as cited in Alba & Nee, p. 838).

Gordon (1964) expanded the perspective on assimilation to capture the complexity of the process, ranging from cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude-receptional, behavior-receptional, to civic assimilation (Zhou, 1997). Gordon (1964) posited that immigrants began their adaptation through cultural assimilation or acculturation. For Gordon (1964), cultural assimilation is the necessary first step in immigrant adjustment. This is minority groups' adoption of the 'cultural patterns' of the host society, which Gordon stated came first and was inevitable (Alba and Nee, 1997). Gordon (1964) defined the cultural standard as the "middle class cultural patterns of largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins," which he described with Joshua Fishman's term as the "core culture" (as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 829) Gordon argued that acculturation does not automatically lead to other forms of assimilation (i.e., large scale entrance into the institutions of the host society or intermarriage). Gordon (1964) stated

that structural assimilation was the “keystone of the arch of assimilation” that would lead to other stages of assimilation (as cited in Zhou, 1997, p. 977). Gordon defined structural assimilation as “entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at primary group level” (as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 830). Gordon (1964) hypothesized that “*once structural assimilation has occurred. . . all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow*” (italics in original, as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 830). Ethnic groups may remain distinguished from one another because of spatial isolation and lack of contact, and their full assimilation will depend ultimately on the degree to which these groups gained the acceptance of the dominant population (Zhou, 1997). Zhou (1997) stated, “Despite intergroup differences, Alba and Nee contend that with enough time, contemporary immigrants will look more like other Americans and become assimilated into the American middle class through intermarriage, residential integration, and occupational mobility” (p. 981).

Rumbaut (1989) advanced the study of refugee adaptation in a framework that connects the theories of adaptation with theories of international migration and race and ethnic relations. He suggested that approach considers refugee adaptation in its larger context from an examination of conditions and contexts in the countries of origin, to the nature and characteristics of the migration flows, to the stages, types, and dimensions of the process of incorporation into a new society (Rumbaut, 1989). The context that Rumbaut advances is supported in the social psychological study of intergroup relations of immigrant phenomena proposed by Berry (2001).

2.2 TRANSITION

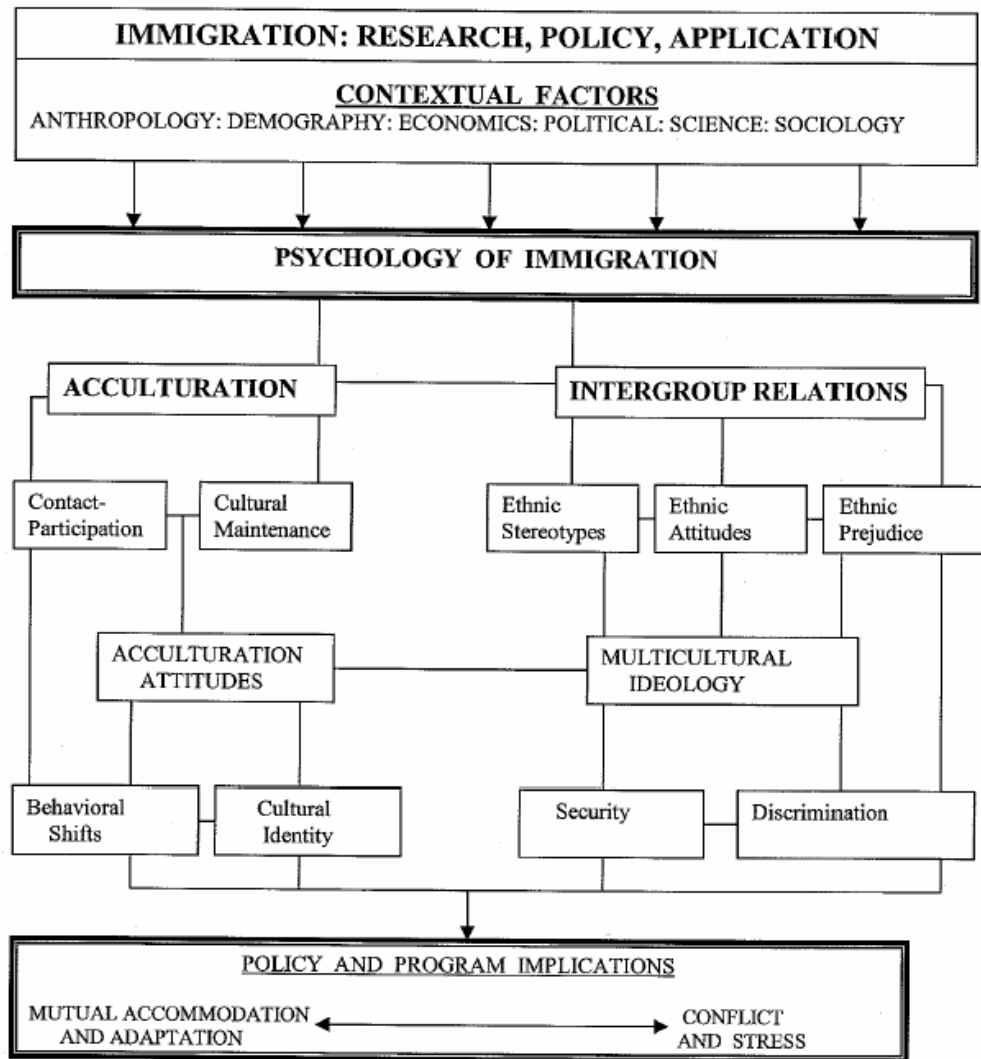
2.2.1 Acculturation Theory

The theory that guides the research is Berry's (2001) framework for understanding the psychology of immigration linking acculturation and intergroup relations, which explains how individuals achieve a fit between themselves and a new cultural environment (Berry, 1990). Figure 1 was modified from research conducted during 1990 through 1999 that he originally proposed in 1974-1980 work that illustrated the cultural, social, and policy components of immigration phenomena and places them in relation to their broad social science contexts (Berry, 2001). Berry's work was grounded in the canonical work of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936), who described "acculturation as a process that entails contact between two cultural groups, which results in numerous cultural changes in both parties" (p. 2). Berry's (1997) collaboration with Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senécal captured the relationship between acculturation research and mutual change. Berry (2001) stated, "Recent trends in acculturation research have come to focus more on the process of mutual change" (p. 616). Anthropologists and sociologists have used two basic aspects of intercultural contact to explain the phenomena of the dynamics between the immigrant-receiving societies and their native-born populations: one, degree of actual contact and the resultant participation of each group with the other; and two, degree of cultural maintenance manifested by each group (Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) further illustrated in the framework that at the psychological level, everyone in an intercultural contact arena holds attitudes toward the two fundamental aspects (intercultural contact and cultural maintenance). He continues, "When examined among immigrant (or other non-dominant)

individuals, these have become known as *acculturation attitudes*” (p. 618). The issues are related as follows: to what extent do people wish to have contact with (or avoid) others outside of their group, and to what extent do people wish to maintain (Jacoby) their cultural attributes (Berry, 2001)? When those issues were examined among the population at large or the dominant receiving society, views about these issues were characterized as *multicultural ideology* as noted on the right side of the framework as a counterpart to the *acculturation attitudes* on the left side (Berry, 2001). This reflected the focus of how one group thinks that others (e.g., immigrants, ethnocultural groups, indigenous peoples) *should* acculturate (i.e., acculturation expectations), Berry (2001) argued. The *multicultural ideology* attempts to encompass the fundamental view that cultural diversity is good for society and its members.

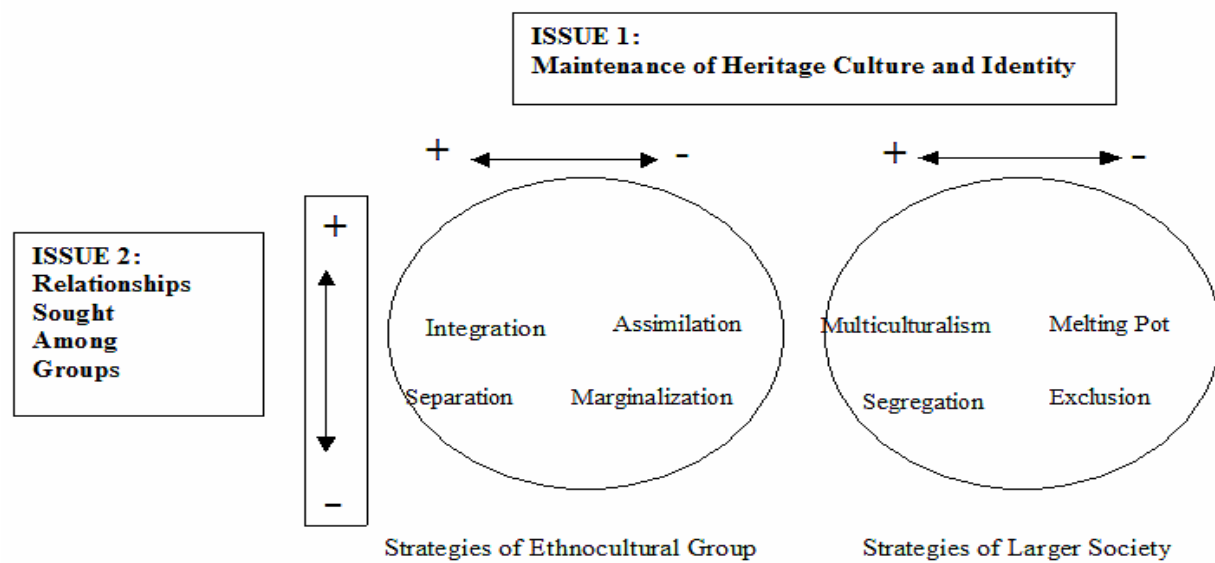
In Berry’s (2001) model, there is high value on both cultural maintenance and on contact participation. Berry developed another typology that illustrated the distinctions between the two dimensions and between the views of the dominant and non-dominant groups, which is represented in Figure 2.

The two dimensions are represented as independent of each other (orthogonally), first for the non-dominant, or immigrant, groups on the left of the figure and the dominant, or receiving society, on the right of the figure (Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) described his model by stating, “For each issue, a dimension is shown, with a positive orientation at one end and a negative one at the other” (p. 618). The question that the representation reflects for the immigrants is, ‘How shall we deal with these two issues?’ For the receiving society the question is, ‘How should they deal with them?’ The immigrants,’ or non-dominant groups’, response to the question or their choices will be impacted and possibly constrained by the receiving society. For the receiving society or dominant group, they will need to consider how to change to accommodate the non



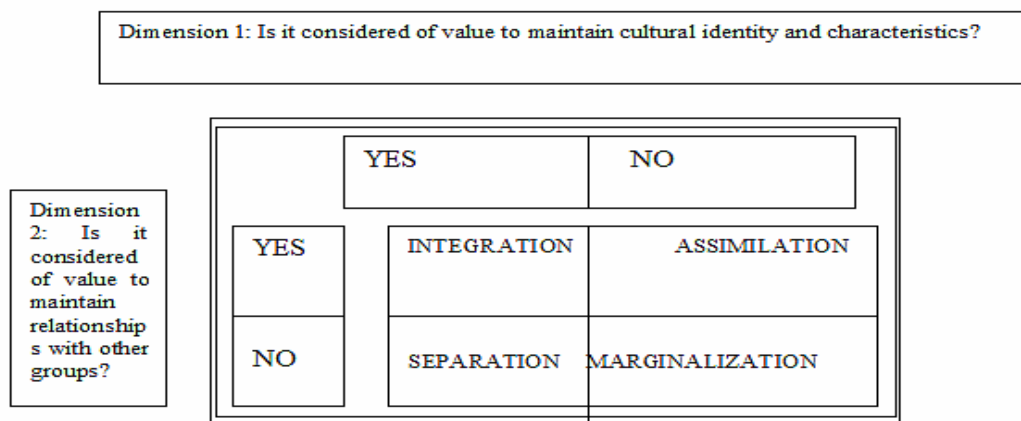
Source: Berry, 2001, p. 617 Reprinted with permission

Figure 1 *Framework for Understanding Psychology of Immigration*



Source: Berry, 2001, p.618 Reprinted with permission

Figure 2 *Varieties of Intercultural Strategies in Immigrant Groups and in the Receiving Society*



Source: Berry, 1987, p.496 Reprinted with permission

Figure 3 *Intercultural Contact Space Represented in a Bi-Dimensional Model*

dominant group. For both groups there is a necessary mutual process involving one's own attitudes and behavior and a perception of those of the other groups (Berry, 2001). The two critical issues define an intercultural contact space (the circles) within which individuals occupy a preferred attitudinal position, which is described by the most appropriate term from acculturation studies that reflects the view of either group with respect to the maintenance of cultural heritage or based on relationships sought among groups, according to Berry. See the intercultural contact space represented in the bi-dimensional model above in Figure 3.

Berry (2001) provides a detailed explanation of the contextual factors of cultural, social, and policy components of immigration in the acculturation framework from the perspectives of the ethnocultural group and from the dominant society. From the viewpoint of the immigrant or ethnocultural group (circle on the *left* in Figure 2), when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when immigrants place a value on holding on to their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *separation* alternative is defined. When there is interest in *both* maintaining one's original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups, *integration* is the option; here, some degree of cultural integrity is maintained, while at the same time immigrants seek, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger society. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance, often for reasons of enforced cultural loss, and little interest in having relations with others, often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination, then *marginalization* is defined (Berry, 2001, p. 619). The attitudinal positions illustrated in Figure 3 are based on the immigrants' ability to choose how they want to engage intercultural relations; however, that choice is not always an option to the non-dominant immigrant or refugee group

(Berry, 2000). When the receiving society imposes restraint upon the immigrant or refugee group options such as integration are unavailable to the immigrant or refugee group. A mutual accommodation is a mandate for integration to occur, which requires acceptance of both dominant and non-dominant groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples within the same society. The refugee, immigrant, or non-dominant group must *adopt* the basic values of the receiving society. In addition the receiving society must be willing and prepared to *adapt* national institutions (e.g., education, health, justice, labor) to better meet the needs of *all* groups now living together in the larger plural society (Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) purported that just as integration and separation are viable acculturative options only when members of one's immigrant or non-dominant group cooperate and have the vitality to maintain the group's cultural heritage, there are possible constraints on one's intercultural strategy that may exist. Those whose physical features set them apart from the receiving society (e.g., Turks in Germany) may experience prejudice and discrimination and be reluctant to pursue assimilation in order to avoid rejection (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, 2001).

Referring to the circles of intercultural contact above, the powerful role of the dominant group is in influencing the way in which mutual acculturation would take place (Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) also detailed the mutual acculturation experience from the perspective of the dominant group. Assimilation, when sought by the dominant group, can be termed '*melting pot*' and when more strongly enforced may be termed '*pressure cooker*.' When separation is demanded and enforced by the dominant group, it is defined as *segregation*. When the dominant group imposes marginalization it is considered a form of *exclusion* (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997). Finally, integration, when cultural diversity is the objective of the larger society,

represents the strategy of mutual accommodation now widely known as *multiculturalism* (Berry, year, p. 620).

When acculturation is described in terms of *cultural identity*, the descriptors are based on a complex set of beliefs and attitudes that people have about themselves in relation to their culture group membership (Berry, 2001). This identity becomes prominent when other cultures collide or interact. The underlying acculturation strategy is constructed along two dimensions: first is identification with one's heritage or ethnocultural group, and second is identification with the larger or dominant society (Berry, 2001). Kalin and Berry (1995) referred to these aspects as ethnic identity and/or civic identity. The dimensions are usually independent of each other and they are nested. For example, nesting may be described in the sense that one's heritage identity may be contained within a larger national identity as an Italian Australian (Berry, 2001). The identity dimensions can be explained in a fashion analogous to the acculturation strategies, as Berry (2001) stated, "When both identities are asserted, this resembles the integration strategy; when one feels attached to neither, then there is a sense of marginalization; and when one is strongly emphasized over the other then one exhibits either the assimilation or the separation strategy" (p. 621). *Behavioral shifts*, the final term on the left side of Figure 1, refers to the core phenomenon of acculturation – psychological change resulting from cultural contact (Berry, 2001). Every behavior of an individual is subject to change following involvement with other cultures. The transitions or shifts may involve culture shedding or culture learning. The changes may include change in clothing, food, greeting procedures, and even replacing values. The rate at which an individual changes is related to the degree of cultural maintenance in one's own group, which is linked to the relative demographic, economic, and political situation of the groups in contact. One of the most prominent behavioral shifts considered in relation to acculturation

attitudes is language knowledge and use (Bourhis, 1994; Clement & Noels, 1996; Masgoret & Gardner, 1999). Studies have established empirical relationships between these acculturation phenomena and the creation of a supportive policy and program climate for positive intercultural relations following migration (Berry, 2001). The linkages are further explored in the next section on intergroup relations found on the right side of the figures.

Berry (2001) detailed the description of *Intergroup Relations* as distinguished in the context of immigration research from the larger psychological study in the examination of groups, which are usually culturally defined by features of language, religion, status, and race. Next, immigrants are described as typically less familiar to the resident population. Berry (2001) cited research where holding specific cultural backgrounds constant, immigrants when compared to natives of a particular country are rated less favorably (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Kalin, 1996). Immigrants are typically less similar to the resident population; therefore those who seek to assimilate and undergo greater behavioral shifts toward the receiving society may experience less discrimination (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999, as cited in Berry, 2001). Berry (2001) stated, “Ethnic stereotyping, attitudes and prejudice can be studied with respect to both the receiving society and immigrants or non-dominant groups” (p. 622). Intergroup relations research has primarily studied dominant groups. Regarding ethnic stereotype research, the tradition has been considering dominant groups’ views of others (heterostereotypes) and sometimes of themselves (autostereotypes); but few reciprocal studies have been conducted examining the auto- and heterostereotypes held by the non-dominant groups (Berry, 2001). Brewer and Campbell’s (1976) study revealed a pattern of complex relationships including ingroup favoritism, and, in selected instances, widely shared hierarchy of outgroup acceptance (as cited in Kalin & Berry, 1995). That research highlighted the importance of immigrant studies since there is competition

among immigrant groups for favor and status in the receiving society and as many countries now compete to attract immigrants (Berry, 2001). The study of ethnic prejudice, based on language, religion, or race in the context of intergroup relations from an immigration perspective apart from the psychological frame, revealed that ethnic prejudice is universal (i.e., all groups and all individuals evidence it); however, it is highly variable across groups and individuals (Berry, 2001).

2.2.2 Acculturation and Policy Components of Immigration

Research on the acculturation of immigrants and on intergroup relations has a large empirical basis for policy development and program action (Berry, 2001). Bourhis et al. (1997) collaborated with Berry in his acculturation research regarding immigration and proposed a typology of the different types of ideologies that underlie the policies adopted by the state to deal with immigration and integration issues in democracies of the Western world (Bourhis et al., 1997). Their premise was based on the decisive impact of state integration policies on the acculturation orientation of both immigrants and the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997). The objective of their model was to illustrate the dynamic nature of the interaction between host community and immigrant group acculturation orientations. Relational outcomes demonstrated were characterized as consensual, problematic, and/or conflicting.

The dominant host majority and the immigrant community have some impact on immigrant policies adopted by government decision makers. These public policies are grouped in two categories: state immigration policies and state integration policies. The immigration policies address the number, type, and national origin of immigrants accepted in the country, and the

integration policies consist of approaches and measures adopted by state agencies to help immigrants integrate within the host society. Integration policies are also used to help the host community accept the immigrants. Adaptation problems and tensions between the host and the newcomer groups are the factors that stimulate governments to formulate integration policies to facilitate integration of the immigrants. State integration policies are dependent upon the prevailing economic, political, demographic, and military events occurring in the state, on a national or international level, which may result in the shift of state integration policies from one ideological orientation to another. The state integration policies may be more or less progressive than the orientations held by the majority of the host population (Bourhis et al., 1997).

There are three key mediums through which the state can influence public attitudes concerning the legitimacy of the ideological position it has adopted on immigration and integration issues: the educational system, the public administration, and through the mass media (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Figure 4, which illustrates the state immigration and integration policies in relationship to the acculturation orientations of immigrant community members, is included below. It is helpful to note that there are similarities between the typology of the State immigration and integration policies and the framework for understanding the psychology of immigration above. These typologies provide a framework for understanding the strategy behind the legislation of the U.S. Immigration and Refugee Program and Policies in general and the resettlement program strategies for a specific locale in particular.

In the case of language planning and resettlement strategies (Bourhis, 1994), such state agencies can also be responsible for conducting the research to determine the effectiveness of implementation procedures with the view for pending changes if needed. State agencies in

collaboration with specialists from universities and research institutes can play a role in formulating and implementing the immigration and integration policies of a given state (Bourhis et al., 1997).

2.2.2.1 State Immigration Policies

The internal boundaries delineate who *can* be and who *should* be accepted as a rightful and authentic citizen of the state; the external boundaries are determined by its international frontiers, which define who is categorized as a ‘fellow national’ or who is labeled a ‘foreigner’ (Helly, 1993). Hammar (1985) posited that sovereign states such as the United States have the power to confer citizenship, admit and exclude aliens, open or close the frontiers to immigrants, decide on the number and type of immigrants to be accepted within the state, and/or to change its immigration policy depending on circumstances (as cited in Bourhis et al., 1997). Bourhis et al. (1997) wrote, “The state can accept immigration for different reasons, such as: promoting its own economic or social self-interests; for humanitarian considerations; historical relations with the countries of emigration; or because the state has difficulty controlling its own frontiers” (p. 371). State policies may define the social psychological reality of being an immigrant by creating various categories for refugees and/or immigrants. The categories may be extended to the second-generation immigrants until the time when full citizenship is granted by the state). These categorizations and ultimately the legal status granted can have a strong impact on the acculturation orientations of immigrants within the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997).

2.2.2.2 State Integration Policies

Integration policies to democratic states of the Western world are usually planned to foster the necessary conditions for what is considered the ‘successful’ integration of immigrants within the host majority. Integration policies may also include measures used to foster host community acceptance of the immigrants (Bourhis et al., 1997). Modern states articulate their immigration policies based on two basic parameters: the external boundaries and the internal boundaries (Helly, 1993). Bourhis et al. (1997) stated, “Such policies often reflect the ideological orientation of the economically, demographically and politically dominant group of the host society in question” (p. 372). A shortcoming of that strategy is that the policies are often formulated as though adaptation was only the responsibility of the immigrant (Kymlicka, 1995).

Bourhis et al. (1997) proposed *four* clusters of state ideologies that shape integration policies towards immigrants (cf., Breton, 1988; Drieger, 1989, but; Helly, 1994, as cited in Bourhis et al., 1997). The clusters are positioned on a continuum ranging from ‘Pluralism ideology’ at one pole to ‘Ethnist ideology’ at the other pole. The descriptions of the ideological clusters, Pluralism, Civic, Assimilation, and Ethnist, which follow, are excerpted from the research of Bourhis et al. (1997).

Pluralism ideology holds that the modern state expects that immigrants will adopt the public values of the host country. A key premise of this ideological approach is that it is considered of value to the host community that immigrants maintain key features of their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness while adopting the public values of the host majority. An example of an integration policy inspired by the pluralism ideology is Canada’s Multiculturalism Act adopted in 1988 (Bourhis et al., 1997; Drieger, 1996; Fleras & Elliot, 1992).

Civic ideology shares two important features with the pluralism ideology: one, the expectation that immigrants adopt the public values of the host country, and two, that the state has no right to interfere with the private values of its individual citizens. This ideology does respect the right of individuals to organize collectively in order to maintain or promote their respective group distinctiveness based on cultural, linguistic, ethnic, or religious affiliation. Civic ideology favors state funding of the cultural interest of the dominant majority group while little financial support or official recognition is given to the culture of immigrant and ethnocultural minorities. Great Britain is an example of a country espousing a Civic ideology (Schnapper, 1992).

Assimilation ideology expects the immigrants to abandon their own cultural and linguistic distinctiveness for the sake of adopting the culture and values of the dominant group constituting the core of the nation state. Although some countries expect this linguistic and cultural assimilation to occur voluntarily and gradually across generations, other states impose Assimilation through specific laws and regulations that limit manifestations of immigrant linguistic, cultural, or religious distinctiveness in public domains. Up until the middle of the 20th century, the United States was an example of the Assimilation ideology in an immigration country of the ‘New World.’ The Assimilation ideology prevailed as subsequent waves of immigrants were expected to lose their respective ethnocultural distinctiveness for the sake of adopting the mainstream values of the ‘American way of life’ (e.g., rugged individualism, capitalistic entrepreneurship). It became evident that the more recent immigrants of the latter half of the century would not readily relinquish their cultural heritage (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970). The American integration policy began shifting away from the assimilation position (Bourhis et

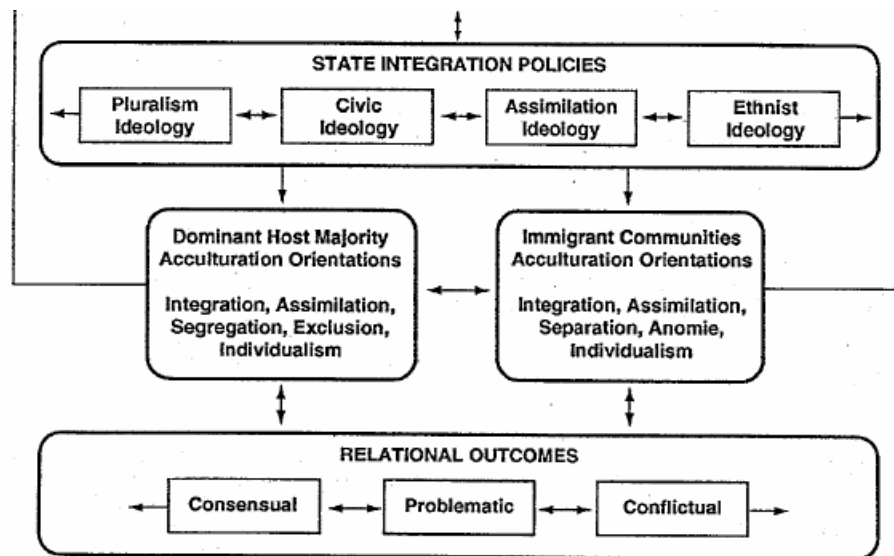
al., 1997). The American policy has essentially moved from an Assimilation to a Civic ideology (Breton & Reitz, 1994)

Ethnist Ideology shares two features of the Assimilation ideology: one, immigrants must adopt the public values of the host nation, and two, the state has a right to limit the expression of certain aspects of private values, especially those of immigrant minorities. The Ethnist ideology defines who can be and who should be citizens of the state in ethnically or religiously exclusive terms (e.g., Germany, Israel, Japan). Ethnist ideology is enshrined in the notion of blood citizenship (*jus sanguinis*), whereby only members of selected ‘racial’ groups can gain full legal status as citizens of the state (Kaplan, 1993). Important features of current German immigration policies illustrate the Ethnist ideology. German citizenship laws reflect a founding myth based on common blood ties (*volkisch*, *volkischen kern*) binding all Germans by virtue of their kinship (Peralva, 1994, as cited in Bourhis et al., 1997). In contrast, non-German blood immigrants recruited as ‘guest workers’ (*streiter*), such as Turk and their descendants, have tenuous claim to full citizenship and are denied the right to vote in regional and national elections (Esser & Korte, 1985). But as a result of growing criticism, aspects of German citizenship law are becoming less restrictive in recent years (Hoerder, 1996).

2.2.3 Refugee Experience in the United States – Pre- and Post-1960

Traditional refugees, typically Eastern Europeans, were the focus of attention until the 1960s, as products of the Cold War (Stein, 1981). The new refugees after the 1960s shifted the interest from Eastern Europe to Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This shift changed the world refugee situation affecting refugee programs worldwide.

Those traditional refugees who came to the United States prior to the 1960s were from countries in Eastern Europe, who had cultural and ethnic similarities with their hosts. The traditional refugees' cultural and ethnic similarities included a common language similar to the host society. U.S. Immigration legislation at this time included strong provisions for family reunification, which provided an established community for the 'traditional' refugees' adjustment. These traditional refugees were also well educated and had skills that were valued by their host country. A similar group was the first wave of Cuban refugees who arrived in the early 1960s (Huyck & Fields, 1981; Pérez, 2001, as cited in Haines, 1996).



Source: Bourhis et al., 1997, p.371 Reprinted with permission

Figure 4 *Excerpt from Interactive Acculturation Model*

Table 2 *Author's Tabulation of Refugees – Pre- and Post-1960*

Traditional Refugees	New Refugees	Middleman Minorities
<1960s	>1960s	>1960s
Eastern Europeans	Africa, Asia, Latin America	Varied –referred to as aliens
Culturally, ethnically similar to host	Culturally, ethnically differ from host	Culturally, ethnically differ from host
Established kinfolk know language, have community to ease adjustment	From less devel. countries Some preliterate, no community, Lack European derivative	Single purpose- financial gain, then return - no desire to adjust to host

Source: Stein (1981), Paludan (1974), Bonacich (1973)

Unlike the traditional refugees, those refugees who came to the United States after the 1960s were from countries that were less developed. The refugees were from countries that were culturally and ethnically very different from their host society. There were few if any relatives already in the host country, which meant that there was no readily established community for the ‘new’ refugees’ adjustment. The languages that were representative of the new refugees’ countries of origin (Africa, Asia, and Latin America) lacked the European derivative of the host country. In some instances the ‘new’ refugees were preliterate which created language barriers to the resettlement process (Stein, 1981). However, in the broadest sense, the fact that these ‘new’ refugees differed from the earlier ‘traditional’ refugees did not mean that they were all poor people who had failed in their homeland (Stein, 1981). An example would be the first wave of Vietnamese refugees who arrived in the mid-1970s, immediately after the fall of Saigon. Most of these refugees were well-educated professionals whose children excelled academically. Their successes contributed to the ‘Asian model minority’ stereotype (McBrien, 2005). In fact, aside from their phenotype, this first group from Vietnam resembled what Stein (1981) described as ‘traditional’ refugees (as cited in McBrien, 2005). In many instances these refugees were

successful, prominent, well-integrated, educated individuals who were pushed out because of fear of persecution (Stein, 1981). Later, refugees from Vietnam arrived in greater numbers and were lacking in education, job skills, and finances (Zhou, 2001).

This second wave of refugees, most of who arrived from 1978 to the mid-1980s, became known as the ‘boat people.’ Those who did not die at sea arrived in Thailand, Malaysia, and Hong Kong, where they awaited resettlement. In addition, hundreds of thousands of Khmer fled the Pol Pot regime, and thousands of Laotians and Hmong escaped from the Pathet Lao. These refugees went to Thailand, and more than 300,000 were resettled in the United States. McBrien (2005) cites challenges noted by theorists (Asali, 2003; Carter, 1999; McMurtrie et al., 2001; Wingfield & Karaman, 2001) that describe the challenges of the recent refugees in resettlement; many recent refugees have two additional barriers to overcome: one, many are Black Africans with significant cultural differences from African Americans, yet they are often perceived by native-born White Americans to be in the same cultural group; and two, many refugees from Africa and the Middle East are Islamic, a religious tradition that many Americans have come to fear and despise, associating it with violence and terrorism .

A critical part of the acculturation process is the questioning of one’s identity and the determination about whether to maintain identification with one’s own culture (Keel & Drew, 2004). Ethnic identity and ethnicity are concepts that are linked with the process of acculturation and adaptation. Keel and Drew (2004) noted, “Nesdale, Rooney, and Smith (1997, p. 570) provide a definition of ethnic identity, that focuses on an individual’s choice and subjective identification, suggesting that ‘ethnic identity involves the extent to which a person retains the attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors of their ethnic group as their own’” (p. 99). Ethnicity, frequently used interchangeably with ethnic identity, is a concept based on common objective

criteria with an ethnic group defined as a group united on the basis of common biology, linguistics, culture, or religion (Liebkind, 1992). Ethnic identity theory was principally an outgrowth of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which emphasized the importance to individuals of their identity with particular social groups and has been used to understand the change immigrants experience in a new country (as cited in Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994). Keel and Drew (2004) cited the research of Eastmond (1998) with refugees from the former Yugoslavia, highlighting the importance that social and political context had on the ethnic identity of refugees both in Bosnia and the host country. It was suggested that “such ethnic identity constructions are formed in the dynamic interplay between different socio-political contexts of everyday life in which refugees are involved and thus must be seen as translocal and transnational phenomena” (Eastmond, 1998, p. 163).

In addition to addressing factors leading to forced migration, migration scholars have included the concept of transnationalism. The ‘debut years’ of this conceptual tool was the period between 1990 and 1994. Faist (2000) defines the concept of transnational social spaces in two propositions, which include the refugee experience by definition of their border crossing:

1. The concept of transnational spaces covers diverse phenomena such as transnational small groups, transnational circuits, and transnational communities. Each of these is characterized by a primary mechanism of integration: reciprocity in small groups, exchange in circuits, and solidarity in communities.
2. Factors conducive to the formation of transnational social spaces not only include favorable technological variables, troubled nation-state formation and contentious minority policies in the developing world, and restrictions such as socioeconomic discrimination. Instead, political opportunities such as multicultural rights may also advance border-crossing webs of ties. (p. 191)

Faist (2000) stated, “Transnational social spaces are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states” (p. 191). The term ‘transnationalism’ actually emerged during the time of high levels of labor migration from economically less developed nations to the most developed and from similarly high levels of political refugees fleeing conflicts and instability in former communist and Third World nations (Castles & Miller, 1993, as cited in Kivisto, 2001). Portes (1997) wrote, “Transnational communities are dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition” (p. 812). He also has argued further that the construction of transnational communities by immigrants is a process driven by the forces promoting economic globalization. Portes (1997) differentiated economic, political, and sociocultural transnationalism. In this instance of economic transnationalism, Kivisto (2001) noted that Portes’ definition of economic transnationalism was not a reference to labor migrants or global proletariats but were the mobile capitalist entrepreneurs. This was also not a reference to the members of the professional middle class or the so-called ‘brain drain’ immigrants, which are emerging as an important component of some contemporary immigrant communities (Kivisto, 2001).

Portes (1997) suggested that the transnational communities are formed as common people are caught in the web and learn to use new technologies. He interprets the development of the transnational communities as the ‘grassroots’ response to the strategies of the large corporate actors, who promote the ‘capital is global, labor is local’ philosophy, through their newly acquired command of long-distance network technologies (Portes, 1997). Beyond the formal and informal political group memberships in which migrants and non-migrants participate, religious institutions are also important sites of dual membership (Levitt, 2001). Kivisto (2001)

commented on the interest in the scholars and their attempt to capture the distinctive and characteristic features of the new immigrant communities that have developed in advanced industrialized nations at the core of the capitalist world system (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Portes, 1997; Vertovec, 1999, Faist, 2000;). Levitt (2001) wrote, “Within this arena, opportunities increase for some and diminish for others depending on, first the social and economic contexts migrants depart from and enter; secondly, their socioeconomic characteristics and the social capital they possess; and lastly, the transnational institutions occupying the social fields in which transnational actors are embedded” (p. 211).

2.2.4 United States Resettlement Program

During the last two decades, a broad economic, political, and social restructuring has shaped the interaction of refugees, immigrants, and established residents (Bach, 1993). On World Refugee Day, 2006, Almira Rzehak, Refugee Resettlement Program Manager, Catholic Charities, stated, “For refugees, resettlement is a life-changing process” (Rzehak, 2006). The issues associated with refugee resettlement in the United States are as varied as the countries of origin, pre-refugee experiences, and host communities of resettlement engaged in the process. The restructuring has shaped the interaction of refugees, immigrants, and established residents (Bach, 1993). The Berry acculturation framework, that underpins this research, defines these interactions as intercultural contact situations in which the refugees, immigrants, or newcomers and the established residents determine the degree of actual contact and the degree of cultural maintenance manifested by each group; the result being the acculturation patterns or acculturation mode of the newcomer and the multicultural ideology of the receiving society or

established residents. With rapid economic self-sufficiency as the hallmark of the U.S. Resettlement strategy, existing conditions of the receiving community of the established residents has an impact on the newcomer acculturation attitudes as well as an impact on the ethnic stereotypes, attitudes, and prejudices of the established residents from the intergroup or intercultural contact.

Erin Patrick (2004), Migration Policy Institute, noted that there are 10 traditional countries of resettlement: Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland (which froze its resettlement program entirely in FY2002), and the United States. Of these 10 traditional resettlement countries, the United States remained by far the largest in that it has routinely accepted more refugees for resettlement than all other countries combined. For example, in FY2000, the U.S. resettled 72,515 refugees – over 57,000 more refugees than the rest of the traditional resettlement countries combined. However, this gap has all but disappeared with the dramatic decline in U.S. resettlement in the two years since the September 11th terrorist attacks (Fix, Meissner, & Papdemetriou, 2005). The Department of Homeland Security documentation on the top seven sending countries' approved refugee admissions between 1982 and 2003, which include Vietnam, the former Soviet Union, Laos, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, Iran and Cuba, reflect as strong an influence on U.S. foreign policy on refugee admissions as global crisis (Nawyn, 2006). Naywn (2006) further posits that although contributing the largest numbers of refugees (USCR, 2003), Africa represents a small proportion of refugee admissions to the United States (Nawyn, 2006).

The introduction of the newcomers into the fabric of receiving communities of established residents involves restructuring rapid and uneven economic growth and decline, resulting in the decomposition of the working class into regional, racial, ethnic, and gender

components (Bach, 1993). Bach (1993) and Doyle (2004) converged in their findings that the effects of migration from the end of the 20th century to present has followed the opposing trends of internationalization and the increasing localization of social, cultural, and political experiences.

The following table illustrates the different attitudes and policies regarding immigrants and refugees over the years. The legislation was an attempt to deal with the scope and impact of immigration on the United States' changing policies and attitudes toward immigrants.

Table 3 *Summary of U.S. Immigration Legislation – 1882-1996*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Legislation</u>	<u>Summary</u>
1882	Chinese Exclusion Act	Suspended immigration from China 60 years
1907	Gentlemen's agreement	Pres. T. Roosevelt agrees to desegregate CA Schools if Japanese government stops emigration
1921	Special Legislation	To increase Western European immigration
1929	National Origins Act	Set Quota for S & E European immigrants
1948	Displaced Persons Act	Allow homeless war victims into U.S.
1952	McCarran-Walter Act	Ideology Criterion for Admission to U.S.
1965	Immigration Act	Abolished quotas based on discrimination but set overall limits – 170k-E. Hemis, 120k W. Hemisphere
1980	Refugee Act	Legally defined refugee & Presidential Determination on refugee admissions & limits
1986	Immigration Reform &	Stop flow of illegal immigrants from Latin America Control Act
1990	Immigration Act	Increase Immigrants entrants by 40% & overturned McCarran-Walter Act
1994	Proposition 187	CA denies illegal aliens all public, social services, non emergency health care and public education
1996	Immigration Act	Increase U.S. border agents, reduce illegal immigrant rights to social programs (in Welfare Reform legislation)

(Source: Migration Policy Institute, 2003)

Table 4 below, is the researcher's tabulation of Table 13 of the Yearbook of Immigration Statistics compiled through the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the Department of State Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migrants. The table is used to provide a snapshot of the Refugee admissions from FY2002 to FY2007. Data from Table 14 of the DHS Yearbook of Immigration Statistics was used to develop the detail or breakdown by country for actual refugee arrivals for 2006 through June 2007 in Table 5 are revised using newer statistical data on refugee arrivals from the Cultural Orientation Resource website through June 2007.

2.2.5 The Resettlement Process

".... I was a stranger and you took me in." Matthew 25:35b (New International Version)

The United States Resettlement Program (USRP) uses a direct absorption policy for refugees and is viewed by the government as a public-private partnership with the most significant amount of assistance being provided by the voluntary sector (Clark, 2004). J. Kelly Ryan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees and Migration, explained in an address that "an important foreign policy goal of the United States is to assist refugees.

Table 4 *U.S. Refugee Program Projections and Admissions FY2002-FY2008*

Federal Fiscal Year	Refugee Admission Ceiling	Actual Admissions
2002	70,000	26,773
2003	70,000	28,304
2004	70,000	52,837
2005	70,000	53,738
2006	70,000	41,150
2007	70,000	24,535*

Source: Refugee Admission Ceiling – DOS, Actual Admissions - DHS 2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics – Refugees and Asylees – Table 14

* Data through 6/2007 Source: Cultural Orientation Resource Center

Table 5 *U.S. Refugee Program Projections and Actual Admissions by Country of Origin*

Breakdown by Country FY 2006		Refugee Arrivals by Region
Country	Projected Arrivals	
Africa	17,200	18,185
Latin America	3,000	119
Europe & FSU	11,500	11,269
Middle East	4,000	4,260
East Asia	5,800	1,724

Source: Projected Arrivals - DOS PRM, Arrivals by Region - DHS 2006 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics – Refugees and Asylees - Table 14

Refugee Arrivals by Region and Country of Origin

worldwide and resettlement is a key part of this policy” (Ryan, 2005). The United States considers refugees for resettlement referred from the UNHCR through sub-contracted U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in affected refugee regions and determines eligibility for refugee status by interviews done by officers of the Department of Homeland Security on a case-by-case basis depending on the urgency of the individual and group situations. Ryan (2005) advanced the legal basis of the refugee admissions program as the Refugee Act of 1980, which formalized the longstanding American tradition of granting refuge to persons in need. As debate continues over increased levels of immigrants in the United States and concern for the associated issues of employment and language skill levels persist, Antecol, Cobb-Clark, and Trejo (2003) purport that researchers and policy makers in the United States could learn from the attempts that Australia and Canada have made to screen for workers with special skills or high levels of education (cf., Boyd, 1976; Price, 1979; Green & Green, 1995). The Migration Policy Institute (MPI) noted a key goal of FY2004-2005 of the USRP was to increase the number of groups eligible for resettlement as well as the reunification of refugee families (Patrick, 2004). The President in consultation with the Congress (Presidential Determination) establishes a proposed ceiling for refugee admissions for the fiscal year. The refugee admissions funds are distributed after the annual consultations between Congress and the president for that fiscal year (Patrick, 2004).

The U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services use the proposed ceiling for refugee admissions as the limit for those immigrating to the United States for that year. Once the total and regional ceilings have been determined, the State Department, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration (DOS/PRM), provides Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) funds to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and various NGOs to act as Overseas

Processing Entities (OPEs), which conduct pre-screening, aid in case preparation, conduct overseas ‘cultural orientation,’ arrange transportation, and otherwise help to manage the processing of refugees for their admission into the United States. For refugees to resettle in the United States, they must go through many preliminary and pre-screening steps. These steps include: one, an interview conducted by a representative of the Joint Voluntary Agency (JVA) to determine eligibility for resettlement; two, completion of the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (U.S.CIS) application with indication of any other possible family members in the United States; three, medical examination and background checks of refugees; four, pending preceding approvals, disclosure/determination of any special medical and/or education needs; and five, finalization of arrangements for transportation made by IOM to the destination for resettlement with commitment from the refugee for repayment of transportation costs once employment has been secured.

Department of Homeland Security/Citizenship and Immigration Services (DHS/CIS) has a budgetary allocation for the refugee processing steps outlined above and resettlement that is appropriated from the State Department principally through the MRA Account. An estimated \$747.4 million were allocated in FY2006 down from \$755 million in FY2004, for costs of refugee processing, movement, and settlement with an estimated \$852.9 million budget request for FY2007. Those costs do not include costs for Transitional Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Medicaid or Social Security for refugees as shown in the Proposed Refugee Admissions Report to Congress, FY2007 (U.S. Department of State, 2006).

The process is costly and requires intense case management. A network of over 400 affiliates throughout the United States and 10 different private voluntary agencies known as VOLAGS are contracted to provide reception services to newly arrived refugees. Once

DOS/PRM domestic personnel receive a case that has been approved and given medical clearance, an assignment is made to one of the 10 volunteer private agencies who then decide which affiliate agency in the national resettlement network will receive the case (Clark, 2004). Volunteer agencies, mostly religious or community-based organizations, are integral to the refugee resettlement process in the United States (Patrick, 2004). The most active VOLAGS include the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), Lutheran Immigrant Aid Society (LIRS), International Rescue Committee (IRC), World Relief Corporation, Immigrant and Refugee Services of America (IRSA), Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), Church World Service (CWS), Domestic and Foreign Missionary Service of the Episcopal Church of the USA, Ethiopian Community Development Center (ECDC), and the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) (Patrick, 2004). In Southwestern Pennsylvania, Catholic Charities, local affiliate of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), and Jewish Family Children Services, local affiliate of Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), are the local affiliates of the national voluntary agencies approved to resettle refugees through this process. Reception services and necessities for resettlement include sponsorship; pre-arrival resettlement planning (including placement); reception upon arrival; basic needs support for at least 30 days, including housing, furnishings, food, and clothing; community orientation; referral to social service providers (including health care, employment, etc.); and case management and tracking for 90-180 days. The Match Grant Program was designed to assist refugees with obtaining early employment and avoiding enrollment in public cash assistance programs such as RCA and TANF. The program provides approximately \$1,000 per month per refugee for a maximum of 120 days after arrival with the expectation that the refugee will have secured employment to enable the refugee to meet his or her expenses (Clark, 2004).

Recipients of R&P Grants are expected to augment PRM funds with private cash and in-kind contributions. These domestic refugee assistance programs are then closely coordinated by DOS/PRM with the longer-term integration programs of the Department of Health and Human Service's Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR).

Since 1986, the principal trend in the refugee resettlement program within the United States has been reduced federal funding in relation to the number of refugees admitted (Haines, 1996). The Migration Policy Institute documented that the bulk of the costs associated with refugee resettlement are domestic, including cash and medical assistance to newly arrived refugees, for job and English language training and other integration programs. The funds are largely distributed at the state level.

Espenshade (1997) stated, "The United States has an explicit immigration policy but does not have an articulated immigrant policy. U.S. immigration policy consists largely of gate keeping functions of determining who is eligible for entry and who is not. But once immigrants have been admitted for permanent residence, the federal government behaves as though its responsibility to them has ended. The purpose of an immigrant policy is to reduce barriers to immigrant adjustment and to help smooth the transition of new immigrants into the U.S. society" (p. 24). The overriding effect of the funding reduction has been more cost born by the states than was anticipated when the Refugee Act of 1980 was enacted (Haines, 1996). Another trend in the USRP has been the reductions in the availability of the special Refugee Cash Assistance (RCA) and Refugee Medical Assistance (RMA) programs. Initially the reductions were programmatic, but there have been funding limitations recently. The funding limitations began in FY1986 as a result of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, known as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation.

Admission as a refugee allows for permanent residency in the United States and the opportunity to apply for citizenship (COR – Welcome to the United States: A Guidebook for Refugees, 2007). Upon completion of this process, refugees are issued an I-94 identification card for proof of legal status. After one year of residency, refugees may adjust their status to ‘permanent resident,’ which may be processed for United States citizenship after four and one half years (COR, DOS). It is a requirement that the refugee/permanent resident be of good moral character, have a basic knowledge of English and of United States history and government. Naturalized citizens enjoy the same rights and privileges as native-born Americans (COR- Welcome to the United States: A Guidebook for Refugees, 2007).

Although the process for the refugee is aggressive and intense from the beginning of the resettlement period, the courage and resiliency of refugees are shown in the high rate of employment found among refugees within six months of their arrival in the United States (UCCB – Migration and Refugee Services, 2007). There is tremendous pressure on resettlement agencies to identify, reduce, and/or eliminate barriers to refugee employment specifically utilizing the resources of language training, child care where needed, health care, transportation, and education (Clark, 2004). Refugee employment is a critical success factor, economic determinant, and adjustment indicator of the United States Resettlement Program. This factor has served as a key indicator of the rate refugee self-sufficiency.

2.2.6 Effects of Forced Migration on Resettlement

Gray and Elliott (2001) built on the research of Matsuoka and Sorenson (1999) to describe the immediate effects of forced migration, particularly in war-torn regions; the refugee experience is characterized as the splitting and scattering of households and communities. LaCroix (2004) cited a recent study of services to refugees that indicated that as a result of forced migration 80 percent of refugees arrive without their immediate families, 62 percent are separated from their entire families, and 18 percent are separated from some members of their families (spouse and/or children less than 19 years of age) (Bertot & Mekki-Berrada, 1999). LaCroix (2004) expounded on the extenuating effects of the separation in that when men travel alone, women and children are often left behind, sometimes hiding in their country of origin, sometimes in a third country where they no longer have the protection of their husbands or the financial means to sustain themselves. The result is that the refugee that experiences the acute flight remains constantly worried about those left behind and has the realization that the situation for themselves and the family members left behind is completely out of his control. The loss experienced by the refugee is staggering. There is loss of family members, loss of employment, loss of social interactions resulting in isolation, lack of language skills for the pending resettlement location, and loss of familiar environment and food (LaCroix, 2004; Stein, 1981). Huyck and Fields (1981) advanced the research of Fields and Fraser (1973), which purported that there is a growing body of empirical evidence confirming that psychopathological effects were more pronounced among children exposed to extended violence and prolonged threat (terrorization) (Huyck & Fields, 1981).

The stages of forced migration outlined by Stephen Keller (1975) provided additional insights into the possible resettlement outcomes in the context of the stages of forced migration.

Keller enumerated the stages as follows:

- perception of a threat;
- decision to flee;
- the period of extreme danger and flight;
- reaching safety;
- camp behavior;
- repatriation, settlement or resettlement (early and late stages);
- adjustment and acculturation; and finally
- residual states and changes in behavior caused by the experience. (as cited in Stein, 1981, p. 323)

Keller used disaster research information to explore reaction to threats and the impact of stress and trauma on behavior. Keller strongly argued that the trauma of flight produced residual psychological states in the refugee that will affect behavior for years to come (as cited in Stein, 1981). Refugees who are late to flee are likely to come out of the experience with three residual characteristics: guilt, invulnerability, and aggressiveness. Aggressiveness is first translated into guilt for the loved ones lost because the refugee delayed flight or failed to protect them during attack (Stein, 1981). Then, feelings of invulnerability would be developed because the refugee had been through the worst and survived. Keller's (1975) research showed that Punjabi refugees tend to be troubled by what others have termed the 'guilt of the survivor.' Starr and Roberts (1982) building on Keller's research found that conflicted survivors displayed more aggressive behaviors toward family members and others. Keller (1975) stated that the aggressiveness exhibited by the refugees was an outgrowth of the other two states: a displacement of the guilt onto others and a willingness to take risks because one is invulnerable (as cited in Stein, 1981).

The refugee has lost structure, the ability to coordinate, predict, or to have expectations, and has developed feelings of incompetence (Stein, 1981). Kunz's (1973, 1981) research

provided a detailed analysis of initial experiences of refugees, the contexts of their displacements, and provided typologies for the possible responses to their forced migration. .

Kunz (1973) recognized that in addition to the pressure of the kinetic forces, the push or pull forces associated with acute or anticipatory departure patterns, the refugees experienced the associative patterns of difference due to waves of arrival of refugee settlers. Stein (1981) wrote, “There is a tendency to see all refugees from a country as a homogenous group, but this is rarely accurate³” (p. 323).

Kunz (1973) developed a typology of the distribution of demographic characteristics of refugees plotted against the kinetic types of displacement or flight (see Figure 3). The refugee characteristics of gender, age, and educational background provide some insights for understanding the refugee settlers’ response to the form of displacement and possibly how the settlement experience would unfold for the vintage cohorts of those refugees that had common migration patterns of movement. Kunz used the typology to point to the fact that displacement forms may influence the composition of the displacement groups and affect the future of those involved.

Kunz (1973) plotted two types of kinetic forces, acute and anticipatory, for refugee and immigrant movement respectively. The acute refugee movement has four types of displacement patterns embedded: flight (mass flight – individual/group escape), force of discipline (civilian

³ Carl Wittke in his *Refugees of Revolutions: The German Forty-eighters in America*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1952, pp. 73-4 deals with the tensions which developed between the ‘Grays’ and ‘Greens’ the pre-‘48 and post-‘48 waves of German migrants in America. “Forty-eighters maintained that all was barren in the U.S. before they came, and that renaissance in cultural life of the German-American group dated from their arrival. In politics, the newcomers referred with contempt to the ‘Grays’ as voting cattle, who condoned human slavery. They criticized Germans who were satisfied with the petty jobs of policemen or constable, distributed by cheap American Politicians. . .the ‘Greens’ announced their determination to infuse Anglo-American civilization with a ‘Germanizing process,’ and to revive the cultural and intellectual interests of their older fellow countrymen. ‘Grays’ and ‘Greens’ attacked each other as fiercely as bigoted nativists attacked all the foreign born” (Kunz, 1973, p. 139).

evacuees and army in pursuit), by force (P.O.W., forced labor, deported and concentrated), or by absence (absence). A high to very high educational background characteristic could be found in both anticipatory and acute refugee movement types across every subgroup of the acute departure patterns.

Distribution of some Demographic Characteristics by Form of Initial Displacement					
Refugee Movement			Refugee Characteristics		
Kintetic Type	Form of Displacement		Masculinity	Age	Educational Background
ANTICIPATORY	Door-to-Door type of refugee migration		Balanced, family groups	Heads of families mostly in the 30-60 age groups	High to very High
ACUTE REFUGEE MOVEMENTS	Displacement by flight	Mass Flight	Balanced, In wars low masculinity	All ages: In wars old and young over represented	Cross section
		Individual or group escape	High in very high masculinity	Active age groups predominate	Strongly biased towards higher education
	Displacement by Force of discipline	Civilian evacuees	In the active age groups almost totally female	Children and old predominate	Highest educational strata almost totally absent. Otherwise cross section
		Army in flight or pursuit	Almost all male	Active age groups	Cross section
		Separated Army Units	All male	Active age groups	Cross section
	Displacement by Force	P.O.W.	All male	Active age groups	Cross section
		Expellees and population transfers	Balanced or slightly low masculinity	All age groups old and young slightly over represented	Depending on policies and areas involved
		The Banished	High masculinity	Active age groups predominate	Usually high to very high
		Forced labor	High masculinity or depending on policies	Active age groups including youths	Cross section or depending on policies
		Deported and concentrated	Depending on policies	Depending on policies	Depending on policies
	Displacement by absence	Displacement by absence	Balanced on slightly higher masculinity	Active age groups predominate	High to very high

Source: Kunz (1973, p.143) International Migration Review, 7 (2) Reprinted with permission

Figure 5 *Characteristics by Form of Initial Displacement*

Kunz (1981) argued that the refugees' orientation or social relationship to their country of origin also has significant impact on their resettlement. Kunz (1981) posited that many of the refugees' problems in resettlement can be traced back to a greater or lesser extent of their marginalization in their experiences pre- and post-flight (Fairchild, 1927 cited in Kunz, 1973). He expanded the former typology to also take into consideration of the host factors related to the prospective resettlement outcome possibilities (see Figure 4). The three main categories of refugees in resettlement are described by Kunz's (1981) research as follows:

- 'majority-identified' refugees identify with their nation believing their opposition to events in their country are shared by the majority but not the government;
- 'events-alienated' refugees had initial desire to be identified with the nation but due to some events/actions now seldom consider hope of return and are embittered toward their former countrymen (e.g., religious or racial minorities, seldom classes)⁴;
- 'self-alienated' refugees no longer have desire to be identified with the nation. (e.g., revolutionaries)⁵; and
- Refugee groups may be '*reactive fate-groups*' or '*purpose groups*' depending on their attitude to displacement. Reactive fate refugee groups include majority identified and event alienated refugees who may flee reluctantly without a clear plan or solution as they react to an intolerable situation. In contrast, purpose group refugees are usually makers of their own refugee situations and possibly may be confused with voluntary migrants. The purpose group refugees almost always include self-alienated members whose ideologies clashed with the home country. Their departure is difficult to characterize as caused by fear of persecution and harassment or by their desire to start a new way of life. (p.44)

⁴ Examples of events-alienated refugees in modern times included the German Jews and Germans with partly Jewish origin, expelled Volksdeutsche and Hindu and Moslem groups made homeless by the partition of India and Pakistan (Kunz, 1981).

⁵ Kunz suggests that in some cases it was difficult to determine whether the individuals categorized as self-alienated were refugees or voluntary immigrants (Kunz, 1981).

The typology contains three main areas: the home-related factors, the displacement related factors, emphasized in Figure 5, and the host related factors.

Kunz (1981) posited that predictive outcomes for refugees in resettlement may be forecast dependent on the refugees' home and displacement related factors. Kunz (1981) advanced that refugees unrestrained by the trials of forced migration will be compelled to explore the new environment, assess the attitudes of the host community, and make an attempt to find a niche where they can feel consistent both with their background or heritage culture and with their changing expectations in their new environment. Cultural compatibility is represented as the most salient host related factor relevant to satisfactory resettlement (Kunz, 1981). Yet the inability to overcome the gap created by unfamiliar values, language, and practices may lead to further isolation, depression, and paranoid reactions (Kunz, 1981). The home and host related factors are shown in the typology reprinted as Figure 4. Successful navigation of the host related factors outlined by Kunz (1981) where refugees find a sufficient number of people in resettlement who are willing or interested in sharing their values, traditions, political views, religion, food habits, and are able to anticipate their hosts' actions and responses may experience accelerated integration and eventual identification with the new country of resettlement. Kunz (1981) considered the possible restrictive population policies of the host country toward the refugees that are not anxious to abandon their homeward orientations (Kunz, 1981). He further advanced that the degree of conformity required by the host county varies dependent on their social receptiveness orientation. He stated, "Monistic societies are less likely to be hospitable to people who cling to their differing cultures than pluralistic societies of broader experience" (Kunz, 1981, p. 48).

For example, Kunz (1981) suggested that acute refugee movements of reactive fate-groups tend to heighten emotions: the identification of the majority-identified becomes more pronounced, and the alienation of the events-alienated, more definite. Kunz (1981) continued that vintages of refugees may be composed of people belonging to a similar type of political, educational, social, or religious background. Although seldom fully homogeneous, each vintage tends to take on different proportions of the ingredients of the society they left behind, making it distinctive enough not to resemble in its composition another vintage. Kunz (1981) proposed that all things being equal, the refugee settlers of events-alienated background, unless experiences have made them excessively neurotic, adjust themselves more quickly to life in augmentative societies and are more successful than refugee settlers who identified themselves with the majority. He also established that reactive-fate refugee groups, which in their history had long experience of minority life, after settlement, tend to form communities with emphasis on friendship, customs, self-help, and ethnic identity

Those associations are structurally well integrated into the host society and show high participation rates of refugees who as individuals and families assimilate slowly. Kunz (1981) continued that the absence of a marginality experience from the majority identified reactive fate-groups results in them being a primary target for shock, authoritarian attitudes, schizophrenia and alcoholism. Kunz concluded, “the young and the highly educated could overcome initial cultural incompatibility” (Kunz, 1981, p. 51). He noted that in the long run the highly educated might remain more impervious to assimilationist pressures than less educated compatriots (Kunz, 1981).

2.3 TRADE OFFS

2.3.1 Education and Refugee Resettlement Challenges

Juxtaposed to the effects of forced migration is resettlement, one of the durable solutions supported by the UNHCR for those for whom other durable solutions are not feasible. The global phenomenon of refugee flows is being transformed into regional, national, municipal, and community issues no more evident than in areas of third country resettlement (Valtonen, 2004). LaCroix (2004) wrote, “Refugees are people with an identity, a past, a history, a cultural heritage” (p. 147). The primary reasons that voluntary migrants and refugees, who have suffered human rights violations, find themselves living among established residents are their desires to restore losses of family, work, and religion (Bach, 1993). Research conducted by Newland (2002) and Sinclair (2001) revealed that education facilitates the successful adjustment of refugees, serving as a key-contributing factor to their psychosocial well-being (as cited in McBrien, 2005). Education is situated as a key factor in the analysis of refugee response in relation to form of displacement. Education may also serve to forecast the predictive outcome for refugee resettlement in adjustment in consideration of the home factors presented by the refugees and host related factors presented to the refugees as illustrated in the Kunz (1973, 1981) typologies in Figures 5 and 6 of the preceding section.

This section reviews literature on education within the context of how education affects the socialization of the general population and how education applies legitimation across various social strata of society from the elite to the disenfranchised. The legitimizing role of education is applicable to refugees in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania. That discussion will be followed with a review of the literature on the concepts of formal, non-formal and informal education learning opportunities that provide pathways or collaborative networks that could facilitate refugee adjustment in resettlement.

2.3.1.1 Education and Resettlement Policy

The stated primary goal of the resettlement program in the United States is refugee self-sufficiency, early employment, and integration into the host community. Kunz (1973, 1981) recognized the assistive role of education to aid the displaced refugee through movement, settlement, and negotiating cultural incompatibility. Education is considered a strategic element and transcendent operational tool in the resettlement of refugees in the UNHCR Education: Field Guidelines (EFG) (2003). The UNHCR Education: Field Guidelines that were developed to address the range of resettlement issues and goals of the world community are also applicable to the U.S. resettlement programs.

Sociologists differentiate between the terms education and schooling (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1999). That differentiation, and in some cases intermixing the terms education, schooling, and learning, makes an examination of formal, non-formal, and informal education strategies a challenging process. Kathleen deMarrais and Margaret LeCompte (1999) suggested that education broadly refers to the process of learning over the span of one's entire life; education begins at birth and continues in a wide variety of formal and informal settings. They

wrote, “Schooling is the learning that takes place in formal institutions whose specific function is the socialization of specific groups within society. Schooling is another name for socialization in schools, or the informal learning that groups of people, usually children, acquire about behavior in these schools” (deMarrais & LeCompte, 1999, p. 2).

The challenges and boundaries that refugees have overcome over the span of their lives are beyond the daily perception of most U.S. citizens (Burgess, 2004). Refugees arriving in a new country face a number of stressful situations. Some of those situations include factors of age, gender, cognitive style, prior intercultural experiences, contact experiences, and education (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Some of the challenging education related, stress producing inputs that refugees receive include information and psychological overload, lack of appropriate information, lack of English, difficulty in finding employment, and feeling a sense of isolation complicated with feelings of dependency on the government (Keel & Drew, 2004). All of these stressors are identified with having their source in the process of acculturation in the social, political and economic life spheres during resettlement (Berry et al., 1987). Keel and Drew (2004) stated, “A lack of English was a very important issue for the refugees who saw language proficiency as a conduit to obtaining work, education, friends, and getting by with daily tasks” (p. 103). One study participant of Keel and Drew’s (2004) research noted, “that without English one can’t get a job and without a job, it is difficult to learn and practice English” (p. 103).

2.3.1.2 Formal Education

Education is one of the most valuable socializing activities for most youth (Wilkinson, 2002). For refugee youth, the education experience provides one of the first sites where the host culture is introduced and learned (Wilkinson, 2002). It is also the site where much of the integration into

the host society takes place for adults. Both Kunz (1981) and Wilkinson (2002) emphasize the strategic effect of education as organized networks of socialization on individuals and on social structure. Meyer's (1977) early work in consideration of the question of how education affects society embraced the conceptualization of modern education, expanding on the traditional socialization model, "as a system of institutionalized rites transforming social roles through powerful initiation ceremonies and as an agent transforming society by creating new classes of personnel with new types of authoritative knowledge" (p. 56). Meyer (1977) further purported, in building on research of Blau and Duncan (1967) and Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan (1972), that education effects status attainment, even in cases where ability measures are held constant and there is a relationship between education and social position. Blau and Duncan (1967) posited that education plays a direct causal role in occupational transition even late in the individual's career, decades after any direct socialization effects are apparent. Meyer advances a legitimation theory of where "modern extended and institutionalized systems of education build into society certain rules which actors take for granted, know others take for granted, and incorporate in their decisions and actions" (p. 65). Research of Bowles and Gintis (1976) advanced a concern that "viewing education as legitimating the structure of modern society allocates individuals to a fixed set of positions in society: a distribution of positions determined by other economic and political forces" (as cited in Meyer, 1977, p. 64).

This caution of conflict theorists, Bowles and Gintis (1976), is interesting in consideration of Meyer's characterization of the legitimation of modern education as *transformative*. Bowles and Gintis (1976) describe education, specifically schooling, as a mechanism for reproduction or the socially and culturally limiting aspects of the functional theories of *transmission*. They view schooling as reproducing the ideologies of the dominant social groups of inequality and

perpetuating class distinction through the hegemonic control of the state. Meyer rejects the view that the legitimating function of education only supports elites and inequality. Meyer explains the intersection of the two dichotomies formed by the general categories of the legitimating effects of education as follows:

First education functions in society as a legitimating *theory of knowledge* defining certain types of knowledge as extant and authoritative. It also functions as a *theory of personnel*, defining categories of persons who are to be treated as possessing these bodies of knowledge and forms of authority. **Second**, education validates both *elites* and *citizens*... The overwhelmingly dominant kind of education in the modern world is mass education (Coombs, 1968, cited in Meyer, 1977), closely tied to the modern state and notion of universal citizenship (Marshall, 1948; Bendix, 1964; Habermas, 1962) (as cited in Meyer, 1977, p.67).

Meyer (1977) posited foundational principles of education that apply legitimation to those that have the capacity to claim specialized functions and specialized functions of others. Meyer (1977) furthers the concepts that mass education creates a series of social assumptions that would enable everyone, including the refugee, to embrace an existence of a common culture of society and expanded social meaning of citizenship, personhood, and individuality.

The European Union Good Practice Guides Workshop on access to education and recognition of foreign qualification highlights the significance of education in the process of integration for refugees. The recognition of foreign qualifications or education of refugees in the European Union Good Practice Guides (1997) is a significant inclusion hearkening back to LaCroix's (2004) description of the refugee experience centering on loss of everything that defined their pre-migration existence. The European Union Good Practice Guides (1997) Workshop emphasized the importance of education in the following points:

- Education improves refugees' opportunities in the labor market and unlocks their potential contribution to the host society by:
 - Giving them recognizable qualifications
 - Updating their skills

- Bridging the gap between their original skills and competencies and those standards require in the labor place in the host society;
- Education is by itself a powerful tool, regardless of its implications for the labor market, in the process of adaptation and social integration;
- Education is a fundamental force in personal development;
- Education is a human and democratic right, which should be available to everyone, regardless of gender, nationality, sexual inclinations, ethnic origins, religious beliefs, and social and legal status;
- In the case of refugees, education can also be regarded as a kind of aid to countries in the event of refugees who return to their countries to help in the nation-building process; and
- Refugees should have access to special provisions for bridging the gap between their original qualifications and entry requirements for further mainstream education in the host country.

The UNHCR (EFG) stated that education is not only a fundamental human right but also an essential component of refugee children's rehabilitation (2003). Stroud and Wee (2005) concurred yet added a caution citing Heller and Martin-Jones (2001) that education is arguably the most formalized channel by which speakers acquire the symbolic and cultural credentials that are given premium in society at large, since educational practices comprise "a key site for the construction of social identities and of unequal relations of power" (p. 2). Stroud and Wee (2005) continued their caution raising concerns, similar to that of Bowles and Gintis (1976), that classroom practices, in other words, are very much about authenticating and legitimizing particular ways of talking about, and taking knowledge from, texts. Researchers have indicated that education is crucial for restoring social and emotional healing (Huyck & Fields, 1981; Gray & Elliott, 2001). Educators and the school environment are key in facilitating socialization and acculturation of refugee and immigrant children (McBrien, 2005).

Integration is idealized as a two-way process of adaptation of both the newcomer and the host society (Kallen, 1995, as cited in Wilkinson, 2002). Best practices in educational programs for refugees are the ones that find ways to most effectively provide a link between new information and existing relevant learners' experience and knowledge structure (Vaynshtok, 2001). Different learning situations have called for specific most appropriate instructional designs noting that there is no one recipe for success (Vaynshtok, 2001). Vaynshtok (2001) advanced an example of these instructional methods/designs in a workshop format that combines traditional presentation with experiential learning techniques for job search skills training, which values and relates the cultural heritage of the participants to the instruction.

Included in the proceedings from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Fifth International Conference on Adult Education were several key statements that detailed how educational rights of refugees would improve their quality of life:

The educational rights of refugees:

The right of refugees to public education is similarly spelled out in the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of refugees, Article 22: Public education: "The contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education. Regarding other types of education, the contracting States are requested to accord to refugees treatment as favorable as possible, and, in any event, not less favorable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education, and, in particular, as regard access to studies, the recognition of foreign schools certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarship.

These rights of migrants and refugees to education and adult learning play a vital role in transferring basic skills for integration and survival. These conventions are far from being fully applied. Migrants and refugees often become a source of conflict and negative reaction within national populations and host governments. (UNESCO, 1999, pp. 10, 11)

In the preceding section the benefits and concerns of education for refugees have been highlighted; international policy on refugee resettlement education strategies have been cited, such as the UNHCR Education Policy Commitments to establish the rights of refugees to basic

education and the provisions of the six goals of Education for All (EFA) (UNHCR-EFG, 2003) for refugee integration; and international human rights advocates have validated education as a right, a meaningful component of and viable medium to facilitate refugee adjustment. However, there continues to be heated debate over immigrant and refugee integration strategies and the impact on the host society. Realization of these societal impediments to welcoming the newcomers make the preparatory work in pre-migration processing centers and resettlement cultural orientation programs of critical importance.

Cultural Orientation is recognized as the education provided to U.S. refugee newcomers to help them acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed in early resettlement (Costello & Bebic, 2006). Goode, Sockalingam, Brown, and Jones (2000) stated, “The National Center for Cultural Competence, as an entity committed to cultural awareness for immigrants toward the successful adjustment into the receiving society of the U.S, defines culture as an integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thoughts, communications, languages, practices, beliefs, values, customs, courtesies, rituals, manners of interacting and roles, relationships, and expected behaviors of a racial, ethnic, religious, or social group; and the ability to transmit the above to succeeding generations” (as cited in Peterson & Coltrane, 2003, p. 1). It is the importance of the infusion of culture that causes the researcher to expand the focus of the traditional curriculum of formal education to include non-formal and informal education strategies relevant for application to study Sudanese refugees’ adjustment in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

2.3.1.3 Non-Formal Education

Starting with the influx of refugees in 1975, the U.S. was faced with a formidable challenge in the schools, workplace, and community (Costello & Bebic, 2006). Educational systems were in

transition as sentiment was spreading that education was failing society (Illich, 1971). Rogers (2004) noted that Bowles and Gintis (1976), among others, cited the failure of formal education not only in developing countries but also in the Western, or Northern, societies. Non-formal education was adopted as the panacea for the problems with education by Freire (1970) and others (i.e., Rogers, 2004). This change in policy was in part in response to a paradigm shift that promoted the importance or significance of non-formal education strategies. This policy shift in education was validated by the substantial appropriation of funding earmarked for programs that included non-formal education as a part of their academic strategies. This period in the policy and paradigm shift to non-formal education was fraught with many interpretations for formal, non-formal and informal education including interchanging the terms ‘education’ and ‘learning.’ The next two sections consider several theorists’ views and operational definitions of non-formal and informal education. The summary provides clarification on the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences that create pathways relevant for the acculturation process for refugees experiencing adjustment in resettlement.

Non-formal education was not without its detractors that described it as a sub-system of education and on occasion as a ‘temporary necessary evil’ (Pigozzi, 1999). Coombs and Ahmed (1974) recognized a role for non-formal education. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) described formal and non-formal education as follows:

Formal education was referred to as the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system from lower or primary school to institutions of higher learning.

Non-formal education was referred to as any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal education system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. (p. 8)

Rogers (2004) suggested that their descriptions, although useful, were imprecise and left room for broad interpretation. Rogers (2004) continued that some interpreted the non-formal system as any program apart from the schools and colleges provided by non-governmental agencies (NGOs), religious organizations, trade unions, commercial agencies, the state, and civil society bodies that were part of the other Ministries such as Women's Affairs, Health, Labor, and Employment, and Sports and Culture. There was some interpretation that the non-formal education would include radio and television programming, and the print media including newspapers and magazines (Rogers, 2004).

Rogers (2004) furthered the discussion on the uncertainty of what constitutes non-formal education and raised questions related to two main issues: first; the increasing diversity of formal education, and second, non-formal education covers a wide variety of educational programs from the flexible schooling model for youth and adults to the highly participatory education programs that are tailor-made for particular learning groups. These issues raise the following interesting questions. Are open and distance learning part of formal or non-formal education? Would private commercial educational programs, which end in officially recognized and often state-sponsored qualifications, be considered formal education? Is e-learning considered part of the formal education program (Rogers, 2004)? Are commercial 'universities' and work-based degree programs considered formal or non-formal?

Programs labeled as non-formal education during the 1980s through present have gained in popularity throughout Third World countries. The non-formal education label in Third World countries hinges primarily on the definition that the education program is not highly institutionalized and not formally provided by established government or government sponsored ministry of education (Rogers, 2004). The Education for All debate, which started prior to the

Jomtien Conference in 1990, still informs much of the educational policy and planning in developing countries and has been applied to children's education programs (Rogers, 2004). There are large programs of schooling for school-aged children that are categorized as non-formal education. BRAC, in Bangladesh, that conducts over 34,000 non-formal primary schools combined with other providers are estimated to include up to approximately 50,000 non-formal primary schools (Rogers, 2004). There are similar programs in countries in Asia and Africa. For example Mali conducts a large non-formal primary education program sometimes also referred to as community schools (Rogers, 2004). Rogers (2004) stated, "In other countries such as the Philippines and Thailand, national non-formal education programs of accreditation and equivalency for adults have been created, offering a '*second chance schooling*' to those who missed out or did not complete their primary schooling" (p. 3).

The Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) established a non-formal education working group, which defined the non-formal education in a broader sense. Their program, although government sponsored, encompasses all parts of the non-formal education world, which includes agricultural, health extension, women's programs, income generation training, and environmental enhancement activities (Rogers, 2004). The strategy behind this non-formal education program structure is so that the government can co-opt the program and thereby help with the development of the country. Ethiopia is cited as an example of that approach, with its national Directory of non-formal education (Rogers, 2004). Rogers (2004) noted overall that the non-formal education programs in developing countries refer to informal ways of providing schooling to children and then adults identified that need it. In response to the question of how a non-formal education program has recognized certificates or

equivalent qualifications, and yet is characterized as non-formal, the general answer is that the programs are more *flexible* than the structured formal education programs (Rogers, 2004).

2.3.1.4 Informal Education

Research on the concepts of formal and non-formal education uncovers a third element, informal education also advanced by Coombs and Ahmed (1974). Opponents of this conceptualization argued that informal education was in reality ‘informal learning.’ The Coombs and Ahmed position on informal education was challenged because of their use of ‘education,’ which was considered as ‘planned and purposeful learning,’ being coupled with ‘informal,’ which infers that learning goes on ‘*outside* of any planned learning’ situation – for example, at cultural events (Rogers, 2004). Coombs and Ahmed (1974) described informal education as follows:

Informal Education is the lifelong process by which every person acquires knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment – whether at home, work, or at play. Informal education is unorganized and perhaps also unsystematic, yet it accounts for the bulk of any person’s total lifetime learning. (p. 8)

UNESCO and the Lifelong Learning Concept

The Coombs and Ahmed (1974) reference to total lifetime learning in their definition of informal education facilitates a linkage to the UNESCO Institute for Education naming of lifelong learning as “the master concept for education policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 182). This UNESCO Institute for Education conceptualization, lifelong learning, is included in this section of the literature review because of the specific application of selective learning strategies within the conceptualization for developing countries and that relationship to the respondents in this study being refugees from a developing country. However, neither this study nor this literature review examines the

extant and powerful discourse of Lifelong Learning. Concurrent with the UNESCO Institute decision to establish lifelong learning as a preminent concept for education policies for developed and developing countries, the International Commission on the Development of Education issued the position statement that “lifelong education is the keystone of the learning society” (Lengrand, 1989, as cited in Moreland & Lovett, 1997, p. 202). Once again, some clarification on the use of education and learning resurfaced similar to the concern raised in the Coombs and Ahmed (1974) conceptualization of non-formal education. Education and learning were differentiated with Brookfield’s (1985) definition of learning as an internal change observed through external behavioral change. Brookfield continues with the definition of education as a process of managing external conditions to facilitate internal change. Reed and Loughran (1984) described education as any intentional and organized effort to influence a person or group with the aim of improving the quality of life. Reed and Loughran (1984) considered learning a larger concept encompassing education, stating that not all learning is the result of education. Their position is that much learning is unintentional and occurs outside of the realms of education. Faure et al. (1972) wrote, “Within these definitions then, lifelong education is the ‘principle on which the overall organization of a system is founded’” (p. 18), while lifelong learning is the process by which individuals continue to develop their knowledge, skills and attitudes over their learning lifetimes (Lifelong Learning Project, 1978). Mocker and Spear’s (1982) research lead to an operational definition of lifelong learning, which was based on the locus of control for making decisions about the learning goals or objectives and means or the ‘how’ of the learning. Mocker and Spear (1982) positioned their research on lifelong learning from a broad sense as a philosophy rather than as a specific type of learning. Mocker and Spear

(1982) also posited that the process continues through one's life, is not identified with any specific age group, and is not defined in terms of a single program.

Field and Leicester (2000) purported that the idea of lifelong learning recurs in surprising contexts of debates over social exclusion, both urban and rural policy, public health, multiculturalism, professional development, and environmental conservation and economic growth. Lifelong learning is a desirable, necessary, and accepted policy framework as evidenced in influential reports from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the European Commission, the G8 group of governments from the eight largest economies, and UNESCO (Field and Leicester, 2000).

Rogers (2004) purported that there is a new interest in the concept of non-formal education from Western post-industrial societies, from the discourse of lifelong learning/education. Rogers (2004) purported that the former compartmentalization of primary, secondary, and higher are no longer acceptable for the comprehensive nature of education, diversity, and the pace of the society. Rogers (2004), although critical of the Coombs and Ahmed (1974) description of non-formal and informal education, advanced a position on lifelong learning/education that is similar. Rogers purports that lifelong learning/education as taking place beyond the traditional sites of schools and colleges to arenas throughout the whole of life, as formal and non-formal, and in some cases, as informal education. Rogers (2004) is consistent with research of Brookfield (1981) that invited educators to acknowledge the importance of informal education as a part of a much wider network of lifelong, lifewide learning.

Lovett (1989) also posited that learning can and does happen all the time, casually and without supervision. Lovett (1989) advances the conceptualization that the learning that takes place within the field of community development is an aspect of lifelong learning (as cited in

Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Belanger (1993) pointed to the growing increase in the social demand for learning as a result of economic, demographic, social, and cultural changes in society. Research into the learning society in Great Britain explores how it can contribute to the development of knowledge and skills for employment . Rogers (2004) cited Aspin, Chapman, Hatton, and Sawano (2001) and Field and Leicester (2000) in their observations that since lifelong learning/education has been co-opted by the states to two main aims, helping economic growth and promoting active citizenship, then the interest of the state and other agencies in non-formal education is with its contribution to these two ends. Moreland and Lovett (1997) purported that although learning related to work is important and will continue to grow, there is the demand created by new life experiences, social issues and conflicts within Western societies. Belanger (1993) advanced that this is the fastest growing sector of lifelong learning in a learning society, one which is issue based and concerned with problem solving (as cited in Moreland & Lovett, 1997). This aspect of lifelong learning is most likely to be outside the territory of institutionalized adult education and more likely to involve disadvantaged adults.

Moreland and Lovett (1997) advanced community development and community education as two sides of a process, which stressed the linkage between problem solving, adult learning, and participation in finding solutions to modern issues and problems. Johnston (2000) also advanced the social purposes of community education; he situated community education with significance of education in relation to identifiable geographical communities, occupational communities, interest communities, and cultural communities that have a reference point, a sense of place or space, separate from mainstream education or schooling. Johnston (2000) making refers to education in relation to ‘community’ as an ideological construct, which is both historically and contextually specific. Although recognizing the variety of meanings and

constructions of community, Johnston (2000) advanced research that established community education with the specific purpose of providing individuals with knowledge that can be used to change society, if desired but with particular emphasis on equipping members of the working-class with the intellectual tools to play a full role in a democratic society or to challenge the inequalities and injustices of society in order to bring about radical social change. Johnston (2000) wrote, “Following Freire (1972), social purpose Community Education is unequivocally and explicitly political, combining a critical understanding of the ideological function of the education system in supporting the status quo, and in maintaining cultural reproduction, with a dynamic theory of oppositional cultural action” (p. 35).

Johnston (2000) viewed lifelong learning in contrast to community education as a straightforward, yet comprehensive process that embraces learning that occurs in every aspect of life at work, home, leisure and at play (Johnston, 2000). However, he posited that it is in the plurality of learning approaches and learning situations that move lifelong learning away from institutional learning that form the interconnections and common ground with community education. Results of their research on the various forms of education and learning opportunities of Lovett, Gunn, and Robson (1994) are briefly summarized as follows:

While *formal* bodies were involved in outreach work and widening access to education, non-formal and informal organizations were more focused on raising awareness of problems and issues such as housing, welfare rights, unemployment, family, and cross-community issues.

Education provided by *non-formal* and *informal* bodies was more participative and learner centered. Formal providers were less likely to involve learners in constructing and teaching of courses or carrying out research and reporting back. Traditional tools of textbooks and taking notes characterized the formal education provided. Non-formal and informal providers are more willing to take account of learners’ experiences and bring that experience into the topic of study.

Non-formal bodies also engage in issue-based education and often provide support for local community groups. The non-formal bodies link education with action and academic achievement with practical experience. Non-formal and informal bodies tend to focus on

education for professional development and training for the unemployed. Formal education espouses traditional methods of educational delivery, in which the tutor or teacher is the expert in control, and the content is pre-determined and is delivered in a 'chalk and talk,' non-participative manner. (as cited in Moreland & Lovett, 1997, p. 208)

Ironside (1989) advanced that the informal education is the lifelong process in which all individuals acquire attitudes, skills, values, and knowledge from their daily experiences and the educative influences and resources in their environment. Ironside's (1989) definitions hearken to the Coombs and Ahmed (1974) definitions. Moreland and Lovett (1997) posited that there are very marked differences between formal, non-formal, and informal education bodies. However, Moreland and Lovett (1997) purported that there is some common ground and principles regarding delivery of relevant adult education.

Lifelong education is an attempt to de-institutionalize and de-monopolize formal education, thus endorsing all forms of learning that occur throughout society. It is not restricted to casual or informal learning situations, but also includes more formal learning processes (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Lifelong education is summarized as follows:

Lifelong education seeks to view education in its totality. It covers formal, non-formal, and informal patterns of education and attempts to integrate and articulate all structures and stages of education along the vertical (temporal) and horizontal (spatial) dimensions. It is also characterized by flexibility in time, place, content, and techniques of learning, sharing of one's enlightenment with others, and adopting varied learning styles and strategies. (Dave, 1982, pp. 35-36)

Reed and Loughran (1984) espoused that learning is a vast system operating throughout society with the largest part being informal settings. The education system includes all situations which have explicit goals linked to the learning process (Reed & Loughran, 1984). Situations not typically considered educational but which involve learning include adults in need of new skills to qualify for better jobs and adults engaged in personal problem solving to enrich their lives (Reed & Loughran, 1984). This pedagogy is consistent with the Vaynshtok (2001) method of

‘Workshop training’ for refugees discussed earlier. Reed and Loughran (1984) posited that much purposeful learning does occur in the community that is not considered education. In their study on adults and education they found that adults could not be viewed as in a state of permanence; but in the rapidly changing society adults require continual change and adaptivity (Reed & Loughran, 1984). Those adults that have been disadvantaged in society are least equipped to cope with problems associated with the rapid changes (Evans, 1985; Gloster, 1980; Council of Europe, 1992). Moreland and Lovett (1997) advanced that community education and community development have experimented with the more innovative kinds of learning. Their objective was to reach the disempowered to link learning to the problems and issues facing people in their communities (Moreland & Lovett, 1997).

The research of Moreland and Lovett (1997) in the area of non-formal adult learning opportunities advanced the following findings on adult education program that was rooted in the cultural and social life of the community. Belfast was selected as a microcosm of the learning society. There were formal adult education institutions, voluntary organizations, and community groups in the city. Moreland and Lovett (1997) considered Belfast an ideal study center since it was the focus of a great deal of community development work at a local level, as well as the center for many voluntary organizations concerned with community education and social issues and problems. The center offered certificated and non-certificated courses ranging from hobbies to cultural activities, and there was an established partnership with the local Workers Education Association.

The non-formal education program was designed to relate education in a wider context related to culture, employment, and leisure while linking theory to experience (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Examples of linking non-formal education in a wider context as it relates to

culture includes English literature students being encouraged to attend plays and other literary events, and students studying psychological theories being encouraged to test the theories in their own personal child-rearing practices. Cultural activities integrated into the learning experience included films, plays, book launches, discussions, and debates (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Moreland and Lovett (1997) wrote, “Frequently grounded in the experiences and reality of the local people, these activities encourage working-class and disadvantaged people to gain control over forms of media for which they are generally the recipients” (p. 211). The education is linked to the issues and problems facing people. They also wrote “One of the main strengths of the non-formal education program is its overt acceptance of education as political and the space it provides for traditional notions of education to be challenged and alternatives to be created” (Moreland & Lovett, 1997, p.212).

Moreland and Lovett’s (1997) results indicated that community and voluntary organizations were engaged in a learning process, which is issue based and geared toward problem solving. Moreland and Lovett (1997) developed a typology, which may prove helpful in mapping how formal and non-formal education/learning opportunities facilitate the social, political, and economic changes of the Sudanese refugees, the subject of this study. The researchers noted that real-life situations do not cleanly fit within the models or typologies. The non-formal bodies engage in issue-based education and often provide support for the local community groups (see Table 5). The non-formal bodies link education with action and academic achievement with practical experience. The non-formal and informal bodies tend to focus on those excluded from society, as the formal bodies tend to focus on education for professional development and training for the unemployed (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Moreland and Lovett (1997) followed their survey method used to construct the typology with

three case studies intended to illustrate the broad spectrum of community activity and focus on the views of providers. The case studies examined formal sector, non-formal and informal sector education providers with access to a grassroots community group. Moreland and Lovett (1997) wrote, “The research supports the hypotheses that voluntary and community groups are involved in issue-based, problem-solving education and that traditional formal education bodies tend not to make such provision” (p. 214). The research examined the interrelationships between formal, non-formal, and informal providers of adult learning opportunities (Moreland & Lovett, 1997).

Table 6 *Typology of Adult Learning Opportunities*

Pedagogy	Formal	Non-formal	Informal (Voluntary)	Informal (Community)
Ideology	Education for professionals and training for unemployed	Learning/education Provide support for disadvantage groups	Involved in wider	learning process
Objectives	Outreach Work	Raising awareness of issues and problems	(e.g. housing, welfare rights, unemployment)	family and cross-community issues
	Widening access	to educational institutions		
	Personal Development	Individual and	collective development	
		Provide Support for	local groups at	
		Community level to	engage in issue-based education	
Educational Practice	Traditional Approach using textbooks and note-taking	Some learner participation using learners' experiences but acknowledging external sources of knowledge	Participative, learner centered, encouraging learners to construct and teach topics Uses learners' experiences as a basis for knowledge	Participative, learner centered, encouraging learners to construct and teach topics Uses learners' experiences as a basis for knowledge
Source: Moreland and Lovett, 1997				

Source: Moreland and Lovett (1997, p. 209) Reprinted with permission.

The community center program served the whole community through educational, recreational, and cultural activities. The center is available to the residents of the community for their own defined purposes. The center considers education an important aspect of their work in terms of helping individuals collectively to improve the quality of their lives. Projects include such activities to assist youth and the unemployed. The center also attempts to engage with the political problems facing people through its community relations work (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Organizing a meeting with residents from the community to meet with others from a different religious/cultural background would further that objective (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Moreland and Lovett (1997) captured comments from a community center worker, “We don’t set out to educate other than within the business of community development. . . we would try from time to time to make people look at why things happen” (p. 212).

The evidence from the work of Moreland and Lovett (1997) highlight the range of adult formal, non-formal, and informal learning opportunities their differences, strengths, and weaknesses. The research suggests that the providers of these various learning strategies, although engaged in their respective fields, recognized the strengths of collaboration toward the benefit and development of members of the community. That response is consistent with Belanger (1993) in the description of the shaping of a ‘new economy’ in the education of adults, which will require new organic approaches for the monitoring of the whole of education and for the development of a synergy among all of the educational and educative agents.

Moreland and Lovett’s (1997) research advanced theory on the interrelationships between formal, non-formal and informal (community development and community education bodies) education/learning experiences, which is supportive of the pathways or routes for refugee adjustment, the subject of this study.

The period in formal and non-formal education discourse of the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s is defined as one of the most divisive for the world of education (Rogers, 2004). This period also corresponds with the first large, post-1965 wave of refugees in resettlement in the United States. Concurrent with this influx of newcomers to the United States and development of these innovative approaches to learning, the Assembly of the Council of Europe formed a recommendation in recognition that formal education systems alone were inadequate to respond to the challenges of modern society. The recommendation stated, “The Assembly recommends that governments and appropriate authorities of member states recognize non-formal education as a de facto partner in the lifelong process and make it accessible for all (Council of Europe, 2000)” (as cited in Rogers, 2004, p. 1). The literature and theorists reviewed in the preceding sections, on education, formal, non-formal, and informal education pedagogies are characterized by a certain position on and contribution to education and the strategic effect of education as organized networks of socialization of individuals and on social structure. Consistent with the Belanger’s (1993) hypothesis of rapid change, the receiving community of the U.S. and the newcomers would undergo tremendous cultural, social, political, and economic changes as a result of immigration and the refugee resettlement experience. The Moreland and Lovett (1997) typology offered useful frameworks for the study of the Sudanese refugee adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

2.3.1.5 Education, Acculturation, and Sociocultural Boundaries

Acculturation refers to “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact” (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). The joint impact of contact and context on acculturation is best understood through the description of

how those factors influence identity and adaptation (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). Although language is an individual phenomenon, communication binds those using the language to a social and ethnic community (Clément et al., 2001). One of the most important factors in determining effective communication with members of the host community is the facility to speak the language (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Successful communication for individuals making cross-cultural transitions at a minimum requires to some extent that the new comer speak the language (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Early and more recent communication studies by Kim (1977) were influenced by cultural learning theory that demonstrated that language competence, acculturation motivation, interpersonal, and mass media accessibility are key determinants of intercultural communication competence.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the extant literature on English language acquisition, but language is viewed as a dynamic instrument of contact, a tool of communication and thinking, and a transmitter of culture and tradition (Clément et al., 2001). Masgoret and Ward (2006) wrote, “Fundamentally, language proficiency and broader communication competence are at the core of sociocultural adaptation” (p. 60). Sociocultural adaptation for the purposes of this study is situated in the behavioral domain and refers to the ability to ‘fit in’ or negotiate interactive aspects of life in a new cultural milieu (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Sociocultural adaptation goes beyond communication proficiency to incorporate new ecologies, norms, and values. This does not mean that the refugee or immigrant must adopt these new norms or set of values to the exclusion of his cultural heritage, but he must understand the differences and have behavioral strategies for coping with them (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). The establishment of oneself socially in a new country is a major psychosocial transition, especially in the case of the refugee or forced migrant (Hauff & Vaglum, 1997). The refugees’ social

networks, as previously described, are destroyed with very little hope of restoration particularly in situations of resettlement where social support is lacking (Hauff & Vaglum, 1997). Berry et al. (1987) wrote, “The establishment of intra-ethnic (within the migrant group) social contacts and the establishment of inter-ethnic social contacts are both important components of the refugees’ integration in the country of resettlement. Their patterns of social contact may in this respect be seen as an indicator of their type of acculturation in relation to the dominating population group” (as cited in Hauff & Vaglum, 1997, p. 408). Sam (1994) stated, “Subjects who are integrated both intra- and inter-ethnically are often regarded as the best adjusted” (as cited in Hauff & Vaglum, 1997, p. 408).

Wilkinson (2002) wrote, “Successful resettlement is based on the social and economic supports provided by the community and family” (p. 175). Social support has been described in the literature as the provisions from social relationships that meet the needs of individuals (Keel & Drew, 2004).

As is outlined in the Moreland and Lovett (1997) typology under the non-formal and informal pedagogies, there are education/learning experiences or pathways in which Sudanese refugees may interact with those in the community. These pathways provide learning opportunities in which to negotiate interactive aspects of life in activities to improve language skills and opportunities for issue-based, problem solving education regarding housing, welfare rights, and unemployment issues. This study examines what formal, non-formal, and informal learning/education experiences facilitate the adjustment experience of the Sudanese refugees.

2.3.1.6 Education, Acculturation, and Economic Boundaries

Bailey and Waldinger (1991) posited that social networks have an important role in the matching and sorting of refugees and immigrants to jobs in the host society and in establishing the basis for mutual trust and cooperation (as cited in Sanders, Nee, & Sernau, 2002). Lanphier (1983), in an overview of the resettlement models, categorized the resettlement policy of the United States and two other key receiving nations as a large volume refugee intake with primacy on economic adaptation strategy. Refugee resettlement models of this type place a strong emphasis on financial self-reliance of the refugees resettled in the receiving country. As in the preceding section on sociocultural adaptation, social or network ties or inter- and intra-relationships with the host society (out-group) and the non-dominant refugee (in-group) affects employment (Sanders et al., 2002). Gray and Elliott (2001), in their review of resettlement, identified a range of needs of refugees and asylum seekers, which included employment in the top three key indicators of economic adjustment, or navigation of the economic boundaries of resettlement. Stein (1979, 1981) proposed that occupational and economic adjustment is crucial to adult refugees' acculturation in a new country. An interest in the economic adjustment of immigrants has recently been renewed because of the increase in the scale of immigration from 252,000 per year in the 1950s to over 734,000 per year in the 1980s to over 900,000 per year in the 1990s (Chiswick & Hurst, 2000). Therefore, understanding the interrelationship of education, acculturation, and navigation of economic/occupational boundaries in the adjustment process for refugees is the focus of this section.

There are significant challenges confronting refugees regarding this area of influence on adjustment relative to pre-flight and arrival in the destination country (Stein, 1981). Some of those challenges include the differential of labor market preparation and participation for the

immigrant versus the refugee. Chiswick and Miller (1998), adhering to a strict distinction between refugees and immigrants, noted that whereas economic advancement is the primary motive in immigration, it plays only a secondary role in refugee movements.

Chiswick and Miller (1995) conducted research that has shown that education, specifically proficiency in the destination language was an important determinant of earnings among immigrants in Australia, Canada, Germany, Israel, and the United States. Although the extensive study of language and acculturation is beyond the scope of this study, it is significant to note that Chiswick's research validates the importance of education to acquire skill in the destination language of the host community for positive results regarding earnings in the adjustment experience of refugees. Key findings of Chiswick, and Miller's (1995) study indicated that immigration at an older age is associated with lower proficiency in the destination language, yet the destination skills-sets increase over time in the host country and among the better educated (Chiswick, and Miller,1995.)

Chiswick and Miller (2000) also conducted other research relative to the relationship between the language skills and preparation for gainful employment during resettlement. Key variables included the effects of duration of residence on employment, and fluency in the destination language was discussed as a form of human capital that was shown to be productive in the labor market through enhanced earnings (Chiswick & Miller, 1995). The effect of improved language skills Chiswick and Miller (2000) associated with greater efficiency in finding a better job and with greater number of weeks worked in a year (Chiswick & Hurst, 2000).

Christine Finnan (1981) conducted research to explain the occupational assimilation of refugees employed in the electronics industry. The refugees remolded themselves to 'fit' the role

or new self-image of the dominant culture of the receiving society or community that was built around the electronics industry (Finnan, 1981). Occupational identity was defined as a response to and influence on a social role, usually in the world of work. Finnan (1981) highlighted the two key phrases about this definition particular to this assimilative occupational identity development; a ‘response to’ how a person molds his image to fit the role; and ‘influence on’ how a person shapes an image of the role to complement his own image. The Vietnamese in the Finnan study were determined to enhance the technical skills brought with them with English language proficiency to further their personal goals to melt into the specific American characterization that they had framed for themselves.

Finnan (1981) highlighted how a pattern of acculturation would determine how a refugee or immigrant would approach occupational identity or economic self-sufficiency strategies. This example from the Finnan (1981) research supports the importance of education or the necessary credentialing, referred to earlier by Meyer (1977), and language proficiency relevance to earnings potential in the Chiswick and Miller (1995) research on occupational adjustment.

Granovetter (1973, 1985) and Burt (1992) pointed to an aspect of acculturation, the importance of interpersonal ties or information networks to achieve economic self-sufficiency, which is the goal of the U.S. resettlement program for refugees. Granovetter (1973, 1985) stressed the importance of the interpersonal relations with *new* ties or contacts made in intercultural contact, since family or refugees from the same cohort or vintage had the same contacts. Granovetter (1973, 1985) envisioned those new contacts as bridges for advantage in getting jobs. Instead of focusing on the strength of the ‘bridge’ or tie Burt (1992) contended that the important structural element is the hole between networks (as cited in Sanders et al., 2002). Sanders et al., (2002) wrote, “Once the ‘hole’ is bridged, information flows and opportunities

increase” (p.282). Waldinger (1996) provided insights into how this theory impacts marginalized groups with this example:

Underrepresentation of African Americans in the construction trades in New York City illustrates the importance of bridge ties and structural holes in affecting the diffusion of employment-related information. Access to training and employment in these trades is governed by access to particular social networks. Job-related information is passed along chains of ties within these networks. These chains often include both weak and strong ties. The disadvantage of African Americans is that they have few interpersonal ties that can bridge the structural holes between themselves and the social networks that control access to employment in the construction trades. (as cited in Sanders et. al, 2002, p. 283)

This section summarized the importance of formal and non-formal education pathways in the context of acculturation and economic self-sufficiency. There is application and relevance of the discussion of information flow reliant on the ability to communicate in settings and across bridges of social networks in the study of the sociocultural adjustment of Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

2.3.1.7 Education, Acculturation, and Political Boundaries

The variety of possible situations and responses in the United States combined with the range of skills and characteristics that refugees bring with them ensures that the resettlement and adjustment of refugees constitute a complex, multifaceted process (Haines, 1996). Haines (1996) wrote, “The structure of public policy at the time of resettlement has important effects on refugee adjustment” (p. 36). The adjustment process of refugees is subject to the particular makeup or features of the communities in which they settle (Haines, 1996). This has bearing on availability of employment, housing, and the local environment. The United States has enacted various forms of legislation to open and close doors to different populations based on economic policies that prescribed certain labor needs as well as for reasons of family reunification and protection

strategies. The patterns of legislation have changed U.S. demographics dramatically. In 2000, 76 percent of the foreign born were from Asia or Latin America, compared to only 6 percent in the early 1900s. In studies of historic immigration and refugee resettlement, Starr (1982) and Roberts (1989) demonstrated that such general community characteristics as ethnic heterogeneity and median educational levels significantly affect the nature of refugee adjustment. It is clear that resources of an established ethnic community make a difference. Navigation of the health and human services systems of the United States for refugees is incumbent on the effective interaction with those that seek to aid them and adequate utilization of the resources designated by policy to facilitate their adjustment experience (Haines, 1996). Many refugees have little understanding of social services since they were organized in the United States (Haines, 1996). The concept of interventionist for administering social services may be alien to certain refugee populations. Refugees that have spent their lives under government regimes that have provided basic to scant resources and have been unresponsive to demands may perceive that the United States owes them a considerable amount of material aid but will be slow and unresponsive (Haines, 1996). Refugees must learn how to learn how to deal with the receiving society in the United States and how to interact with the resettlement agencies and mutual assistance associations that can facilitate their successful adaptation. Those individuals or groups may be medical personnel, neighbors, resettlement caseworkers, potential employers, government officials, or friends (Haines, 1996). However, the greater the cultural difference/distance between the United States and the refugee's country of origin, the more difficult the adjustment will be. Orientation programs in the United States and overseas refugee processing centers have been a mechanism to address this issue (Haines, 1996).

Citizenship education for adult refugees and immigrants is aimed at acquainting the newcomers with information that will further familiarize them with salient points about this third country of resettlement and assist the adjustment process. Applicants for citizenship must show some knowledge and understanding of the English language and knowledge of the history and form of government of the United. The immigration policies, U.S. economy, and refugee diversity have all impacted the context of reception for today's newcomers (Nguyen, 2006). In today's economy, there is a widening gap between the rich and the poor and a shrinking middle class. Currently, the income of the top one percent of the population is more than the 90 percent combined, and ownership of wealth is "more concentrated in fewer hands" today than it has been since the late 1800s (Reich, 2005, p. 1, as cited in Nguyen, 2006, p. 314). Refugees and immigrants are currently entering an economy where there are increasing inequalities in income and wealth. Formal and non-formal education has a role of increasing importance. As noted in the preceding section on the federal policy, education for refugees is very specifically aimed at enhancing refugee employment potential. State integration policy provides for reimbursable short-term job training specifically related to opportunities in the local economy, vocational English, and on-site employee orientation. There is some controversy regarding the policy, which is considered heavily slanted toward vocational training with success being measured in terms of job placements, job retention, and reduction in cash assistance (Stewart, 1993). In addition, the vocational training is considered limiting for refugees with professional premigration experience and little opportunity to pursue advanced educational training to obtain the necessary credentialing in resettlement. Refugees find that resettlement into the industrialized economy prescribes a need for a college degree or they will face limited mobility (Nguyen, 2006). Those without a college education may face a permanent underclass (Nguyen, 2006).

2.3.1.8 Education, Acculturation, and Power

The concepts of stratification of power by race, social class, gender, and deconstruction are key components of the refugee experience from pre-migration, in flight from oppression or persecution, and possibly throughout adjustment in resettlement.

Refugee students may have experienced a gap in their studies, suffered trauma and separation from families, or have knowledge gaps due to the differences in national curricula (UNHCR–EFG, 2003). In the case of most African refugees there are few existing ties or established communities in place in the United States that provide an established stable pathway to adjustment. Structured formal and non-formal education and related activities can increase personal competencies and self-esteem of the refugees (UNHCR–EFG, 2003). Stewart (1993) wrote, “Refugees almost invariably need to have a variety of education and training experiences before they can be truly successfully in entering the national mainstream” (p. 51). Stewart (1993) noted results of a survey by the Office of Refugee Assistance that documented that beyond typical formal instruction, over 66 percent surveyed indicated that the media and interaction with other native employees provided instruction necessary to improve language skills. Hoyles (1977) advanced the importance of language education in controlling access to economic resources, political institution, and power. Programs such as English language training are frequently noted as core needs by refugees themselves especially since their arrival is typically not a planned event (Haines, 1996). Stewart (1993) stated that studies prepared for the Office of Refugee Resettlement found that education, specifically English language proficiency, is of “overriding importance” as a predictor of self-sufficiency for refugees (p. 50). Proficiency in English has a significant impact on labor force participation, and on unemployment rates and earnings (Stewart, 1993).

Norton (2000) used “the term power to reference socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions, and communities through which symbolic and material resources in a society are produced, distributed, and validated” (p. 7). She included education, language, and friendship among the symbolic resources and capital goods, real estate, and money among the material resources. Norton’s theory regarding power and identity is useful for this study of how the formal and non-formal education pathways facilitate or inhibit the adjustment experience of Sudanese refugees. Norton (2000) considered power as something that cannot be physically possessed but as a relation, which implies social exchange on a particular set of terms. Similar to Foucault (1980), Norton (2000) posited that “power does not operate only at the macro level of powerful institutions such as the legal system, the education system, and the social welfare system, but also at the micro level of everyday social encounters between people with differential access to symbolic and material resources – encounters that are produced within language” (p. 7). Since the refugee adjustment experience is significantly impacted by legislation in the receiving country that affects that access to the symbolic and material resources, Tollefson’s (1993) criticism of the federal policies affecting refugee education is also of interest to this study. He expressed concerns that the educational programs for the Indochinese refugees only prepared them for ‘functional citizenship’ where they could hope to assimilate to only the lowest rungs of the social and economic ladder in the United States. Tollefson (1993) posited that the refugee education program established by developed countries was not for the benefit of those intended to be served but for the benefit of those in power to meet their labor policy objectives.

Yali Zou (1998) conveyed her experience as an immigrant but now as a professor at the University of Houston; she observed that some immigrants, children and adults alike, give up

hope and become marginalized because they are not taught in a meaningful way (Zou, 1998). She proposed that acquisition of new knowledge in the host country be informed by a pedagogy of hope “in the sense expressed by Freire, (1973, 1995) that is clearly based on solid psychological principles of learning and intellectual development among young children – and on the social, cultural, psychological, and cognitive adaptation of adults” (Cole, 1996; Vygotsky, 1962, 1978) (as cited in Zou, 1998, p. 5). The pedagogy of hope advanced here is consistent with the objectives discussed earlier of education as a key to sustainable protection and hope for a better future for refugees outlined in the UNHCR – Education Field Guidelines (2003). Zou (1998) proposed this strategy as a form of agency that the immigrant or refugee could employ to cope with the challenges of adjustment.

Without a close working relationship between student and teacher, parents, or more informed peers, an immigrant cannot acquire and master a new language and culture. Zou (1998) stated, “A pedagogy of hope would permit students to create an individual learning space and to play a key role in engineering their own learning” (p. 8). She proposed the empowerment of immigrants was possible with eight critical elements for language acquisition within a pedagogy of hope:

- Basic proficiency or skills in reading, writing, math;
- Cognitive and analytical skills to process information, interpret text, structure messages into appropriate categories, problem solve, evaluate, judge, critique, and create;
- Communicative skills in English through oral and written discourse;
- Organizational skills to handle multiple tasks in a timely fashion according to a plan;
- Determination and motivation to pursue difficult cognitive tasks and other assignments over time;
- Emotional balance to handle daily stress and function effectively;
- Personal qualities and skills to become a good peer and colleague and collaborate with others; and
- Vision to plan and define long-term goals and the functional relationship between present day tasks and those goals. (Zou, 1998)

As Zou (1998) proposed a strategy or pedagogy of hope to empower learners to engineer their own learning in their new country of resettlement, Norton (2000) advanced through her study the importance of augmenting classroom learning with structured opportunities outside the classroom for minority workers to interact with speakers of the dominant language. Norton (2000) found through enabling the language learners to participate in classroom-based social research that they were able to gain insights into the ways in which opportunities to speak are socially structured, and how social relations of power are implicated in the process of social interaction). Norton (2000) wrote, “As learners develop an understanding of how power acts on and through social interaction, they might learn to challenge social practices of marginalization” (p. 152). In Norton’s (2000) study, the learners (refugees/immigrants), acting as student researcher ethnographers with the encouragement and support of the language instructor, could critically engage their histories and memories from a position of strength rather than weakness. This collaborative formal and non-formal learning student researcher approach has utility in this study where Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania may question their relationship to varied larger social processes at work and/or in the community and subsequently discover ways to enhance their own personal capacities of adjustment in resettlement.

The UNHCR Education Field Guidelines (EFG) (2003) stressed the importance of pre-program planning that has considered the refugee needs through assessment as well as input from existing community groups and committees to ensure that local needs and cultural considerations are taken into account to result in a high probability of success. The high probability of success is directly related to the collaborative programming efforts of the refugees, non-formal educators, and the community groups, which ensure ‘ownership’ of the programs by the newly formed communities (UNHCR-EFG, 2003).

2.4 SUMMARY

The review of literature for this study focused on the refugee resettlement experience and associated formal and non-formal education theory that could serve as foundations for the pathways to examine the adjustment experiences of Sudanese refugees resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The literature reviewed confirmed that as the scale of migration remains in a growth pattern originating in the underdeveloped sending countries with destinations in the economically fluctuating and socially stressed developed receiving countries, the dynamics of the adjustment of the refugee population to the United States will continue to be of great concern for social and economic national and foreign policy.

This literature review revealed that part of the challenge in the examination of the resettlement experience of refugees is the interchangeable use of terms used to describe the same groups of migrants at different instances (Haines, 1996). The literature reviewed explored the differentiation between the immigrant and refugee experience (Hein, 1993). Not only did the literature differentiate between those migrants whose movement varied between voluntary versus involuntary movement, but the literature also revealed the differentiation based on the waves of migration from the traditional refugees of the pre-1960s to the new refugees of the post-1960s (Bonacich, 1973; Paludan, 1974; Stein, 1981; Portes, 1997). In addition, within those migrant designations, the literature highlighted the subset of new post-1960s refugees whose singular prime motivation was economic/entrepreneurial with no overwhelming desire for permanent

resettlement. The generational immigrant effect represented by the 1.5 and second-generation immigrants (Portes, 1997) was also explored. The literature examined the emergent impact of transnationalism (Faist, 2000; Kivisto, 2001; Levitt, 2001), which continues to develop as a migration strategy as the technological advances of communication and transportation further blur international borders and boundaries.

It was evidenced in the research conducted by Kunz (1973, 1981) that a differentiation between voluntary migrants and involuntary migrants was needed because of the difference in response to forced migration in resettlement (Keller, 1975; Huyck & Fields, 1981; Starr and Roberts, 1982; Gray & Elliott, 2001; LaCroix, 2004). The Kunz kinetic typology of refugees versus immigrants explained the differentiation in their movement, characteristics, and the influence of pre-migration education relative to their forms of displacement. The literature reviewed also revealed the many variations of the definition of resettlement and the indeterminate nature of the duration in the stages of resettlement due to the wide range of experiences that the refugee populations have presented (Vaynshtok, 2001; Pipher, 2002). The literature has also shown the heterogeneity of the vintages within the cohorts of the refugees resettled in the United States, which has further complicated the adjustment process (Kunz, 1981).

Rumbaut (1989) and Portes (1997) advanced the importance of examination of the adjustment process or adaptation of non-dominant refugees to the dominant receiving society multidimensionally – horizontally, covering a variety of adaptation ‘realms,’ and vertically, focusing on different units of analysis (from the individual to the household to the community). The realms of adaptation that Rumbaut (1989) purported included, in part: the psychological adaptation of refugees to their ‘coerced homelessness’ or forced migration; the segmented labor

markets and welfare systems into which they are incorporated; the mode of production and reproduction that structures the adaptive contexts of refugee groups; the social ecology of their spatial settlement pattern and the development of ethnic communities; and the refugees' cultural adaptation, which considers the complexity and contradictions of American cultural contexts assumed in the conceptualization of acculturation and the varieties of adaptive careers and coping strategies shaped by the independent variables of age, gender, social class, and time).

This literature review has examined the adjustment process of resettled refugees through the framework of the acculturation typology proposed by Berry (2001) as a lens for consideration of the impact of acculturative stressors on the adaptation strategies used by the refugees as they navigate the various resettlement programmatic challenges of the United States nationally and at the community level. Acculturation theory literature provides a pattern to map the trajectory of refugee adjustment and framework to interpret how the refugees use the formal and non-formal education settings for the interactions or intercultural contact with the receiving community. The research revealed the detailed and complex nature of resettlement policies (Haines, 1996) of the industrialized nations that have attempted to structure the absorption of refugees and immigrants for largely economic benefit (Lanphier, 1983; Moise, Perreault, and Senecal, 1997) and in some instances has become a continuum of trauma of forced choices for the non-dominant refugees.

Of the many determinants of adjustment that are part of the components of adaptation in the resettlement experience this review focused on the integral role of formal and non-formal education in the patterns of acculturation associated with resettlement. The United States resettlement philosophy is based on immigration and integration policies that support the rapid integration of refugees into the American economic system (Dunning, 1989; Chiswick, 1998, 2000). The literature reviewed concluded that even with the continued debate on the benefit or

detriment of the assimilative or integrative acculturative strategy for refugee adjustment that education in the pre-migration processing centers and English Language Learning once resettled were associated with ‘desirable’ outcomes (being in the labor force, working, higher hourly wages, etc.) on almost every measure of economic success (Dunning, 1989; Chiswick, 2000). Both prior education and English-speaking ability increased the likelihood that a refugee would be in the labor force for a substantial proportion of his or her time in the United States (Dunning, 1989). It was estimated that the proportion of time spent in the American labor force increased by three percentage points for each additional year of education completed in refugee homeland, independent of the effects of other background characteristics (Dunning, 1989; Chiswick, 2000).

Refugee education is a critical part of the stages of resettlement in the context of the psychosocial trauma having been experienced by the refugee. Moreland and Lovett’s (1997) research advanced the strengths of the interrelationships between the formal, non-formal, and informal education or learning opportunities across a wider learning process to encompass specific credentialing objectives and resettlement community related issues and problem solving objectives. Moreland and Lovett’s (1997) research furthered the merits of the traditional education practice in conjunction with those practices that encouraged learner participative and learner centered instruction to facilitate understanding, promote value of learners’ experiences and resolution when applicable of individual, family, and community issues. To facilitate refugee learning in an atmosphere that is conducive to learning, one must consider issues of cultural differences, an environment that expresses respect for the refugee learners’ past, be cognizant of their losses, be capable of recognizing and acknowledging their signs of grieving, occasional overreaction, and providing refugee learners with internal and external resource networks (Vaynshtok, 2001; LaCroix, 2004).

This study adheres to a critical theory paradigm considering the social construction of power (Tollefson, 1993; Norton, 2000) in language practices and communication patterns in relation to the theoretical framework of acculturation theory for making meaning of the adjustment or process of integration and change of the refugee or immigrant in the new sociocultural environment. The review of education and specifically the formal and non-formal education literature emphasize the capacity of education for building the cultural credentials of newcomers in resettlement. However, the recognition that sites of formal and non-formal education also serve as sites for the construction of social identities of unequal relations of power requires that the research focus be sharpened through a critical theory lens to appreciate the refugee resettlement challenges as they relate to policies impacting remaking meaning of their lives and reestablishing their identity.

This study explores the patterns of acculturation while employing the metaphor of crossing boundaries to examine the perceptions of Sudanese refugees of how their formal and non-formal education experiences serve to bridge the spheres of the political, cultural, and socioeconomic influence that shape their adjustment experience in resettlement.

Table 7 *Research Questions Linking Literature Sources*

Research Question	Literature Sources
<p>R. 1. What (personal, professional, financial and socio-economic) needs and goals are perceived as important by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern PA?</p>	<p>Kuhn (1973, 1981) and Hein (1993) research differentiated voluntary from involuntary migrants and provided a context to study the effects of forced migration, the associated home and host related factors especially education, in meeting the social, political and economic needs of refugees in resettlement. Starr and Roberts (1982); Keel and Drew (2004) literature highlighted the adaptative (to the land, culture, people and language) needs of refugees. Canonical research of Park (1928); Stonequist (1937) and Warner and Srole (1945) argued the merits of assimilation and drawbacks and potential marginality of bicultural accommodation. Haines (1989, 1996); research provided valuable insights on various forced migrants' experiences in the United States.</p>
<p>R. 2. How do the Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal or non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment process in Southwestern PA?</p> <p>a) What obstacles to adjustment (Homeland security regulations, government policies/legislation and institutional interactions, service providers) do the Sudanese refugees report that they encountered during</p>	<p>Berry's (1990- 1999, 2001) study on acculturation and intergroup relations and Bourhis et al (1997) research that links the policy components of immigration with the acculturation orientations form the theoretical basis for the study of adjustment through examination of the intercultural contact that occurs in the formal and non-formal education experiences in resettlement. Keller (1975); Stein (1981); Joly (1996); Bihi (1999); Vaynshtok (2001) and Gray and Elliott (2001) stages of and challenges to resettlement for the refugee provide insights into the realization or abandonment of goals, in</p>

<p>resettlement in the U.S.?</p> <p>b) What is the role of their formal/non formal education in addressing the problems?</p>	<p>consideration of policies and/or programs that support or thwart intercultural integrative contact .</p> <p>Meyer (1977) studied how education affects society. Kunz (1981);Wilkinson (2002) emphasize the strategic effect of education expanding on the traditional socialization model of education. Bowles and Gintis (1976);Stroud and Wee (2005) caution the formal education limiting effects and unequal uses of symbolic and cultural credentials. Freire (1972); UNESCO (1972); Coombes and Ahmed (1974); Reed and Loughran (1984);Lengrand (1989); Field and Leicester (2000) and Rogers (2004) advance non-formal and informal education as viable means for everyone, including refugees, to acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights. Moreland and Lovett (1997) typology has utility in mapping the Sudanese refugee experience in SWPA.</p>
<p>R.3. How do Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/ non– formal education has affected their occupational adjustment in SWPA?</p>	<p>Stein (1979, 1981) study emphasized the critical nature of occupational and economic adjustment to adult refugee acculturation. Chiswick and Miller (1995) purport the importance of formal education (language) as a determinant of earnings in the destination country. Finnan (1981) research highlighted how a pattern of acculturation would determine how a refugee would approach occupational identity or economic self-sufficiency strategies. Economic self-sufficiency is the overshadowing resettlement policy that governs the funding streams for the resettlement agency, mutual aid associations and other affiliates that work to assist in the adjustment of refugees. Greenberg (1976); Gold (1994b) relate how this dynamic affects the refugee employment</p>

	<p>outlook and access to services. Granovetter (1973,1985) and Burt (1992) research relate interpersonal ties or networks to economic self-sufficiency. Waldinger (1996b) research related the importance of interpersonal ties on occupational strategies in intercultural contact. Tollefson (1993) cautioned that educational programs prepared Indochinese refugees for limited ‘functional’ citizenship at the lowest rungs of underemployment. Norton (2000) research examined power as a social exchange in everyday social encounters between people with varying access to symbolic and material resources. Zou (1998) advanced Freire (1973, 1995) pedagogy of hope for refugee through a strategy of empowerment using education as a catalyst to meet the challenges of adjustment.</p>
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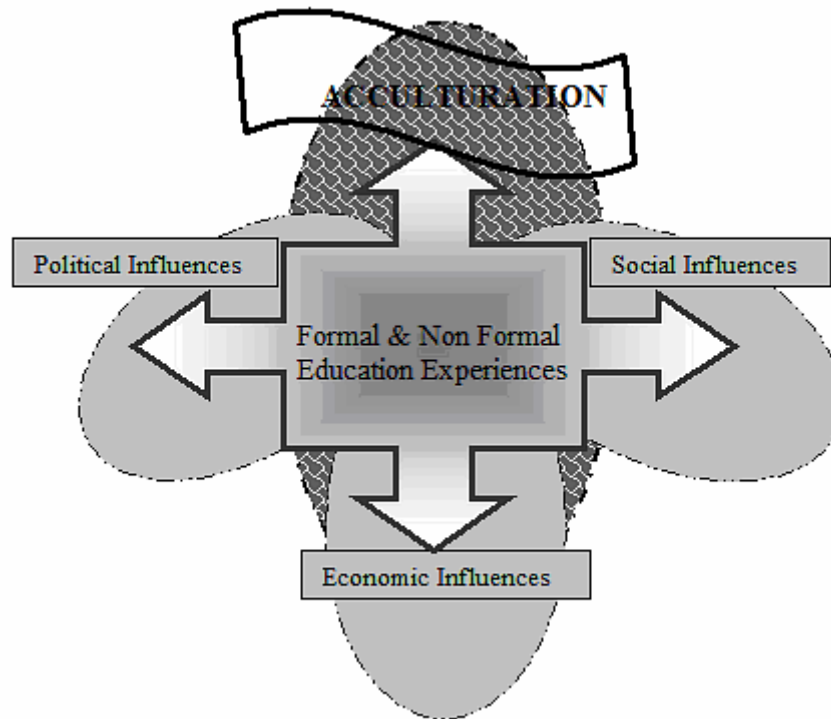


Figure 7 *Conceptual Framework for this study*

The conceptual framework for this study is a modification on a socialization model (Weidman, 2006) adapted by the researcher to illustrate how the acculturation experience serves as an underpinning for the adjustment process. Acculturation theory informs the study by providing a framework for consideration of the threshold issues: the extent to which people desire contact with those outside of their group and to what extent are people disposed to maintain their cultural heritage. The formal, non-formal, and informal education opportunities serve as pathways to bridge the spheres of political, economic, and social influences that are interwoven into the acculturation experience, which leads to adjustment and enables the refugees to cross boundaries of cultural differences to navigate the daily struggles of resettlement.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

In this study the researcher explores the experiences of Sudanese refugees in the process of adjusting to the sociocultural environment in Southwestern Pennsylvania, how their formal and non-formal education experiences affected/shaped the responses and mechanisms that they employed to cope with the challenges of adjustment that they face, and how their sociocultural values affected the way they perceive these experiences. This study examines how formal and non-formal education settings serve to bridge the spheres of political, economic, and social influence that shaped or are woven into the acculturation experience of the Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

Resettling in the United States of America brings along with it a new set of challenges for refugees, especially those whose native language is not English. Learning the language of their new environment is a necessary and critical step for refugees in the resettlement process. For some refugees, this way of life may be more difficult than for others. When issues of race are added to the mix, the trajectory of the challenge may change. The researcher adopts acculturation theory, which explains the specific process individuals utilize to achieve a fit between themselves and a new cultural environment (Berry, 2001), as the guiding theoretical framework for analyzing the adjustment process of the refugees that have resettled in Southwestern

Pennsylvania. Additionally, the researcher adopts Kunz's (1973, 1981) pre-migration education theory relative to forms of displacement and that relate to resettlement. The researcher further informs the study through application of the non-formal and informal education theories of Mocker and Spear (1982), Moreland and Lovett (1997), and Aspin et al. (2001), whose research involves holistic, flexible, integrated, UNESCO endorsed approaches to meet the adult educational needs of individuals and communities affected by changing societal demands including those extreme needs of refugees in resettlement. Since the intent of this study is to capture the spectrum of formal and non-formal education influences on the adjustment process within varying contexts of acculturation, on recommendation by the researcher's committee, the title of the study was revised to include but not be limited to the role of English Language Learning.

This chapter identifies the research design and data collection instruments used to conduct the study and analyses. The following research questions guide the study:

1. What (personal, professional, financial, and socioeconomic) needs and goals are perceived as important by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
2. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal and non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
3. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/non-formal education has affected their occupational adjustment in Southwestern PA?

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher chose qualitative research as the process orientation for the inquiry. Qualitative analysis was selected to fully understand the essence of the formal and non-formal education experience as related to the refugee adjustment process of resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

Qualitative studies are used to describe and interpret the experiences of participants in order to understand the “*essence*” of the experience as “*perceived by the participants*” (McMillan, 2000, p. 269). The meaning of the experience to each participant constitutes reality (McMillan, 2000). The choice of the design was influenced by the research questions. The researcher believed that the best approach or way to answer the questions and to understand the phenomena as it is experienced daily by the refugees involves the in-depth interviews and the qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach is appropriate to capture what is the ‘lived experience’ being investigated (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). This qualitative study of a group of Sudanese refugees in the Southwestern Pennsylvania region is designed to analyze their perceptions of how their formal and non-formal education experiences influence their adjustment process during resettlement to the region. The qualitative study approach allows for capturing the breadth as well as the depth of the participants’ lives, experiences, worldview, and emotional framework (Worku, 2006). The qualitative approach seeks to understand phenomena through understanding meanings and processes usually less amenable to statistical analysis. The research problem for a phenomenological study is focused on what is essential for the meaning of the event, episode, or interaction (McMillan, 2000). The researcher uses a qualitative approach to understand behavior from the refugees’ frames of reference (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Weine et al. (2005) finds qualitative methodology useful in their study on refugee families because qualitative data are able to address meanings, expectations, and cultural and contextual issues of the multi-family support and education intervention group analysis. Wine et al. (2005) use the qualitative evidence to better understand the Bosnian refugee family perspectives on the consequences of political violence and the family members' ways of managing the changes associated with displaced families of war. Glesne (1998) posit that qualitative research provides a medium for the interaction and relationship between researchers and study participants as it contributes to the lives of the participants. The rationale proposed by Wine et al. (2005) has utility for this study because of the similarities of the religious and politically motivated pre-migration violence experienced by the Sudanese refugees.

3.2 SETTING AND DATA SOURCES

The researcher conducted fieldwork at several locations where refugees engage in formal and non-formal education. To gain a better understanding of the formal and non-formal education programs for refugee resettlement, the researcher visited the principal organizations responsible for resettlement in the Southwestern Pennsylvania region. The research indicates that there are only three official local affiliates of the national voluntary agencies (Volags) for resettlement in the region: Catholic Charities, Jewish Family and Children Services, and Lutheran Immigrant Aid Services. However, Catholic Charities resettled almost all of the Sudanese refugees that were resettled in the specific locale for this study. The researcher worked through the key resettlement agency or Volag to identify the principal mutual aid association and nonprofit non

governmental organizations integrally involved with the Sudanese refugee acculturation experience. Working through the key resettlement agency, the mutual assistance association and nonprofit organizations is important to the integrity of the study and a requirement of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) to further protect and preserve anonymity of the refugee participants. Acculturation for Justice, Access and Peace Outreach (AJAPO), whose name incorporates ‘acculturation,’ a theoretical key to this study, is widely recognized for its mission of acculturation specifically to refugees from Sudan. This mutual assistance association, although affiliated to Catholic Charities through a denominational tie, is independent in its operation. The other key nonprofit organization, Greater Livable City Literacy Council⁶, is known both nationally and in the community for both the adult native English speakers and adult English Language Learner programs. Jewish Family Children Services another local affiliate of a national Volag also provided valuable insights and information on formal and non-formal education workshops available to refugees and immigrants in Southwestern Pennsylvania. These sources do not exhaust the resettlement resources available to refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania but are those identified as primary to the adjustment experience of the participants of this study. Since the focus of this study is to hear the voice of the participants related to their formal and non-formal education experience, the researcher did not establish a formal interviewing schedule with the instructors at the locations where the formal and non-formal education classes were held. However, prior to the interviews, the researcher gathered relevant documents from the instructors during visits to these locations and received various forms of communication (electronic, hardcopy, and print media) pertinent to the formal and non-formal

⁶ Pseudonym for Language training partner

education programs. The documents and communication allowed the researcher to become familiar with the materials, where available, that were used in the adult formal and non-formal education programs in which the participants are involved. Historic documentation from the resettlement agency and from a strategic resettlement partner, the community-school-corporate-faith/congregation affiliated collaborative association, added special insights into the wide variety of formal, non-formal, and informal education strategies that were utilized in the Sudanese refugee resettlement experience. That documentation enriches the study and enhances the researcher's understanding of the Sudanese refugees' responses. The documents and communication allowed the researcher to become familiar with the materials that were used in the adult formal and non-formal education programs beyond those materials and techniques discussed generally in the literature on cultural orientation and language acquisition programs from the Center for Adult English Language Acquisition (CAELA) documentation.

The researcher chose these organizations because of their strategic roles and affiliation with the local refugee resettlement agency and resettlement policy programming for the region. The researcher built on the relationship as an approved volunteer at the resettlement agency and developed relationships with the mutual assistance association and with the nonprofit nongovernmental organization resettlement partners. In addition the researcher participated as an observer at the actual refugee acculturation classes and attended various special worship, school district, and community intercultural events, as well as selected non-formal education classes and workshops.

The researcher identified the settings most frequently used by the Sudanese refugees for formal and non-formal education experiences (e.g., church settings and class locations set up in community rooms of the apartment complex of the Sudanese refugee residents) for interviewing

and meetings with refugees. The researcher conducted fieldwork by gathering information during interviews with the refugees, from the key informants associated with the refugees' resettlement program and meeting with the refugees/students at their selected locations of worship and cultural events where the formal and non-formal education classes were held.

3.3 STUDY PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study represent individuals who have survived unbearable challenges of forced migration and overcome extreme and persistent loss and isolation to arrive at a destination not of their choosing to adapt to a culture totally different from their homeland. Purposeful sampling was used to select participants from Sudanese refugees who reside in Southwestern Pennsylvania and who arrived between 2000 and 2006. Patton (2003) states, "Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling" (p. 230). Patton (2003) provides descriptors for an array of sampling strategies. For this study, the strategic and purposeful selection criteria for those who will be invited to participate in the study include selection of those who have or are participating in English Language Learning and/or various formal and non-formal education classes.

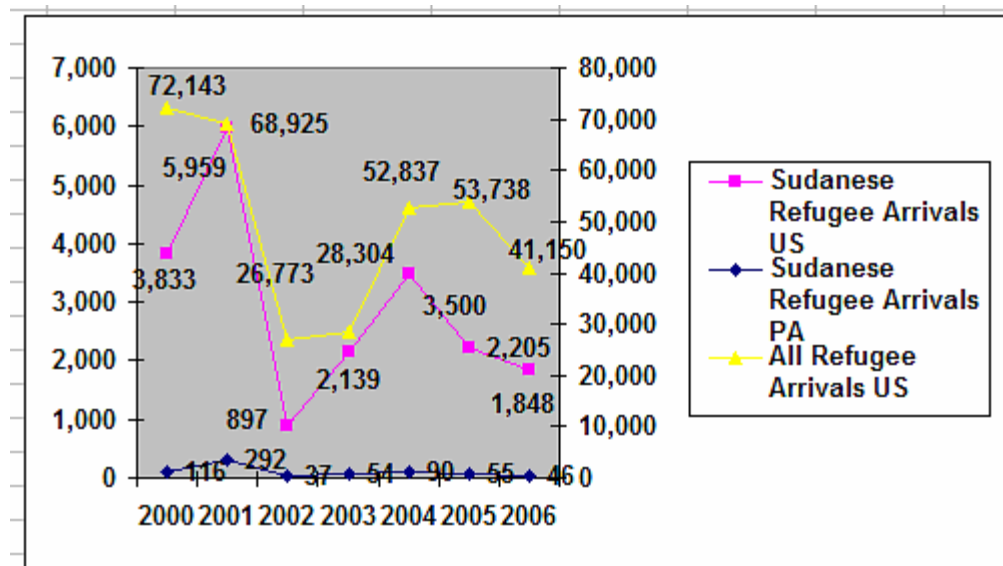
The rationale for selection of the participants from the prescribed timeframe is that prior to this period there were few Sudanese in the United States notwithstanding Southwestern Pennsylvania. There was no Sudanese community so to speak. The largest wave of Sudanese refugees in the United States and in Pennsylvania, after the enactment of the Refugee Act of

1980, occurred between 2000 and 2001. The United States State Department conferred the designation of P-2 status to over 3,400 young adults from the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya for resettlement to the United States.

The context of this study is best described according to documentation of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) for arrivals by state by year, from 2000 through 2006. In that period there were 690 Sudanese arrivals in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The resettlement agency statistics for 2000 through 2006 document 113 Sudanese for the Southwestern Pennsylvania area specific to the study. The Sudanese Community organization documents that there are currently 150 Sudanese in the Southwestern Pennsylvania metropolitan region. Locating a refugee population is problematic. The variable nature of the numbers on the Sudanese refugees from two reasonably reliable sources may reflect possible secondary migration of Sudanese resettled in another part of the state or out of state now located in this specific locale. After admission into the United States, particularly after adjustment of status to legal permanent resident, after one year, refugees have similar freedoms to residents. They may change their cities and states of residence (Newbold, 2002).

In the figure below the researcher uses data extracted from the 2006 Yearbook Statistics of the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) and the statistics by state by year of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) to illustrate all refugees resettled in the United States, the Sudanese refugees resettled across the United States, and Sudanese refugees resettled in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania from 2000 through 2006. There were approximately 113 Sudanese refugees resettled in the region specific to the study, within this same timeframe, according to documentation of the resettlement agency.

Figure 8 Author's Graphic of Sudanese Refugees U.S. & P.A. Compared to All Refugee Arrivals U.S. 2000-2006



	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Sudanese Refugee Arrivals PA	116	292	37	54	90	55	46
Sudanese Refugee Arrivals US	3,833	5,959	897	2,139	3,500	2,205	1,848
All Refugee Arrivals US	72,143	68,925	26,773	28,304	52,837	53,738	41,150

Source: DHHS 2006 Yearbook Statistics and ORR Statistics by State by Year

Those recent and past Sudanese refugee arrivals to Southwestern Pennsylvania were invited to participate in the study despite their time of arrival through their involvement in formal and non-formal education classes. The participants referred by the resettlement agency or their non-government organization associates yielded participants that represent different views and experiences of the Sudanese community in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The participants represent their own personal and varied stages of formal and non-formal education experiences, which relate to their adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Their varied experiences length of stay, age of the participants, and level of pre-migration education provide information-rich

cases that manifest the phenomena of influence of formal and non-formal education in their adjustment experiences.

This region of Pennsylvania was not formerly, nor is currently, considered a gateway metropolitan area of refugee resettlement, according to the Brookings Institution study (Singer & Wilson, 2006) on refugee destinations previously noted. Therefore, the study of the dynamics of acculturation for the Sudanese refugees and their adjustment experience among the host community as a visible minority resettled in this locale with no choice in their destination contributes to the literature on this underrepresented population.

In descriptive, phenomenological studies, typically between five and 25 individuals may be interviewed (McMillan, 2000). Participants were approached through a letter of introduction and a flyer that the researcher developed to explain the study and extended the offer to current and former English Language Learners. For the indepth interviewing in this study there were 10 participants selected. Of the 10 participants, six were male and four were female. The number of interviews is determined by the criteria of satisfaction of information richness for the research (Patton, 2003). The potential participants were given a letter introducing this study by a member of the resettlement agency, mutual assistance association or staff who were known to them at the non governmental or nonprofit organizations that were responsible for their resettlement activities and English Language Learning classes. The small size of the in-depth interview investigation was offset by other forms of data gathering such as resettlement agency documentation, field observations of intercultural events, and attendance at acculturation training classes conducted by the resettlement agency, the affiliate mutual assistance association, and nongovernmental organization resettlement associate.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

The researcher secured approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) in February 2007, as required by the University of Pittsburgh, prior to the investigation of the study, which included first securing the approval from the resettlement agency, key mutual assistance association, and the nonprofit non governmental resettlement affiliate that provide the formal, non-formal, and informal education for the Sudanese refugees. The researcher then began the recruitment process for participants in the study to begin collecting data. The study was conducted from March through December 2007. The IRB prescribed that solicitation for study participants would be participant-driven through the refugee response to the researcher from the posted invitation or through the referral of the resettlement agency, their partners or affiliates. The recruitment process was difficult to manage and coordinate through the resettlement agency and their partners. The researcher worked around scheduling mismatches between receipts of referrals and completion of actual contact made with the prospective participant who in some cases could not be reached until after another 12 – 18 hour period. There were conflicts receiving a message between another workshift or after return from the second job that the refugee finished over that timeframe. There were challenges reaching those prospective participants identified and referred by the resettlement agency. The prospective participants had possibly changed their contact information recorded since resettlement. Key staff members of the referring mutual assistance association and the resettlement agency were invaluable resources in providing assistance with contacts through the Sudanese Community organization, subsequent translation when needed during interviewing, and through member checking of the content from the transcription to ensure reliable interpretation of the responses.

3.4.1 Pilot Study Rationale

The researcher conducted a pilot test of the protocol instrument for face validity. Every research design has its own strengths and weaknesses (Patton, 2003). The researcher implemented strategies to minimize the weaknesses and maximize the strengths of the results. One particular strategy was to test the interview protocol to determine if the questions can be understood by a sample drawn from the same population as that of the participants. The research and related interview questions were formulated with the assistance from a culturally literate individual who speaks both English and several African languages and understands the differences between African language structures and English. This help was necessary to formulate interview questions that were more precise and easily understandable by the participants.

The viability of the questions is an important aspect of the data collection process since the participants are at different levels of English Language proficiency, and the researcher desires that the results be relevant to their experience. A properly conducted pilot study is valuable and reduces the risk that while the study is in process that an important issue has been ignored (Glesne & Peshkin, 1998). Patton (2003) wrote, “Constant attention to both content and process, with both informed by the purpose of the interview, will reduce the extent to which, in Cervantes’s words, researchers and evaluators ‘tire themselves out learning and proving things that, once learned and proved, don’t matter a straw as far as the mind or memory is concerned’” (p. 380). The pilot study was conducted with four Sudanese refugees who were referred by the mutual assistance association that have been in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania for six to seven years. They were invited to participate in the pilot study because they are

representative of the Sudanese refugees to be interviewed. Based upon comments and critique of the pilot study panel, the researcher revised the interview protocol as needed.

3.4.2 Actual Study

The researcher conducted 10 semi-structured, in-depth, and face-to-face, interviews to satisfy information richness desired. There are a total of 14 Sudanese refugee participants in the study, which include four Sudanese refugee participants in a pilot study, which preceded the actual research. Patton (2003) notes, “Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on in depth on relatively small samples” (p. 230). The interviews were held at public locations where the refugees have had formal or non-formal education experiences. These locations were selected because they offered a familiar setting and a convenience for scheduling time with the refugees, which caused the least disruption in their work schedules and least difficulty for transportation concerns. Participant names and qualitative narrative are filed separately in a secure location under lock and key to maintain confidentiality of data.

Participants were approached through a letter of introduction and a flyer that the researcher developed in cooperation with an English as a Second Language instructor. The flyer was used to explain the study and to extend an offer to current and former English Language Learners or students in other formal and non-formal education workshops to participate. The potential participants were given a letter introducing this study by the resettlement agency, mutual assistance association or non government, nonprofit organization. These resettlement partners and affiliates’ staff members were known to the Sudanese and were responsible for their resettlement activities and English Language Learning classes. Of the 10 participants, six were

male and four were female. Representation of different views and experiences were provided by the participants as representative of their gender, age, level of pre- and post-migration formal, non formal, and informal education experiences as they varied among those of the Sudanese community in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

The face-to-face interviewing was enriched with the researcher participating in acculturation training conducted by the resettlement agency and the affiliate mutual assistance association and non government organization resettlement partner. The researcher attended and observed selected:

- ESL classes conducted by the non profit resettlement partner at the community center in the neighborhood of the Sudanese;
- An informal education crafts and Mothers' sewing group;
- Non-formal education programs jointly developed by the two local affiliates of the national resettlement agencies held at the community center in the Sudanese receiving community—the SMART Marriage informational national program and the Active Relationship Center (ARC) program circle intergroup; and
- Non-formal Acculturation training classes on Financial Literacy and on early arrival issues (for most recent cohort of refugee arrivals in Southwestern Pennsylvania).

Although the newest refugee population differed from the Sudanese refugees, the focus of this study, it provided an excellent opportunity to obtain direct contact through participant observation in a non-formal education acculturation class with a refugee population of African descent in the initial stages of resettlement. That experience enabled the researcher to have greater insight into the responses given by the Sudanese participants in this study and a better understanding of the resettlement agency's official documentation of the attitude toward and the adjustment potential indicators in the resettlement agency initial service and employment plans. The researcher also observed the summer school district ESL and summer session math and science classes for refugee and other interested students. Some of the study participants are

parents of children in the school district that celebrated the enrollment of the refugee children or attended adult education and language training classes and activities jointly sponsored by the school district and neighborhood community center and faith based affiliate.

3.5 ANALYSES

The data analysis follows the steps of qualitative data analysis as outlined in the literature (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Similar to the artisan's hammer to fine carpentry is the importance of a good tape recorder to fine fieldwork (Patton, 2003). The tape-recorded transcription was used to complement the field notes and maximize the retrieval of information from the interviews. Patton (2003) stated, "The raw data of interviews are the actual quotations spoken by interviewees. Nothing can substitute for these data: the actual things said by real people" (p. 380). He also noted, "Data interpretation and analysis involve making sense out of what people have said, looking for patterns, putting together what is said in one place with what is said in another place, and integrating what different people have said" (Patton, 2003, p. 380). When it was necessary to obtain follow up data when scheduling was difficult for the refugees' work schedule, telephone interviewing was utilized. Transcriptions of the interviews and field notes were carefully reviewed. The data were coded and categorized into emerging themes to identify common threads from the responses. A thematic analysis approach was used to develop generative clusters of meaning units. The process was inductive analysis that results in emergent constructions of meanings (Patton, 2003). The researcher coded and clustered thematic categories around the Sudanese participants'

responses on their perceptions of adjustment and their formal and non-formal education experiences using content analysis from the tape-recorded, transcribed, individual interviews. Meaning or meaning units were listed from each of the horizontalized statements in response to the interview questions (Moustakas, 1994). Clusters meaning units were distilled from the listings into common categories or themes. These clustered themes and meanings were used to develop the textural descriptions of the experience. Textural descriptions formed the basis of the structural descriptions of the participants' acculturation orientations and an integration of textures and structures (Moustakas, 1994) related to their formal and non-formal education experiences. The integration of those textures and structures form the construction of meanings related to the essences of the adjustment phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). Key staff members of the referring mutual assistance association and resettlement agency were invaluable resources in corroborating reliability and validity of the interview instrument and in providing credibility of the findings through member-checking the content from the transcription to ensure reliable interpretation of the responses.

Acculturation theory has utility as a lens to analyze these findings. Similar to the analysis of Bosnian refugees in a metropolitan locale (Clark, 2004), it is reasonable that there would be an attempt by displaced Sudanese refugees to maintain some level of their cultural heritage in resettlement. The acculturation process experienced by the Sudanese is a dynamic continuum that remains in a state of flux as the individual balances forces to maintain an internal equilibrium managing a bicultural identity and an external equilibrium through highly interactive intergroup relations with the resettlement agency and their partners in the formal and non-formal education settings. Berry (1991) views adjustment as one of the strategies to adapt to a new environment where adaptation is a strategy for managing the acculturation process. Research of

Vietnamese refugees in Canada finds evidence (Montgomery, 1996) that views adjustment as a multidimensional phenomena comprised of economic, sociocultural, and subjective facets which combine to determine one's self-assessed level of adjustment (Clark, 2004). This study examines the facilitative capacity of formal, non-formal, and informal education to mediate or bridge the spheres of social, political, and economic influence that shape the adjustment experience of Sudanese refugees in resettlement in Southwestern, Pennsylvania.

Table 8 illustrates the Research and Interview Question Matrix.

Table 8 *Research and Interview Question Matrix*

Research Question	Interview Questions
Preliminary Background Inquiry – Participant Demographic Sheet	<p>Please tell me about yourself:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you please tell about yourself, your decision to leave your homeland? • Do you have family in the destination city, in any other cities in U.S.? • Did you travel alone or with family? • Is this your first destination in U.S.? • Which agency sponsored your resettlement? • How long have you been in SWPA? Do you consider this your home at this time? Yes/No . . why? • Will you go back to Sudan?
R. 1. What (personal, professional, financial, and socioeconomic) needs and goals are perceived as important by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern PA?	<p>Interview Questions used to establish indicators of refugee acculturation mode/experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homeland customs & culture to be desired & maintained: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What customs are important to you? ○ Why is it important to maintain your Sudanese customs? ○ How do you maintain your customs?
These questions establish initial and current expectations of Sudanese refugees.	<p>Interview Questions used to describe patterns of social contact that relate to social influences affecting acculturation of Sudanese refugees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please describe the settings and your experiences making contacts in SWPA. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What made your experiences easier/difficult? • Please explain if it is important to participate fully in SWPA culture and why? • How has formal and non-formal education helped you in building relationships? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ With others from Sudan? ○ With neighbors in your community? ○ With members of your place of worship?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ With dating? • In what ways has formal and non-formal education not been helpful to you in building relationships? • What does discrimination mean to you? • Have you or anyone you know been prevented from joining any groups or organizations or building friendships with other Sudanese or those in the community or at place of worship? • Please tell me about your goals now that you are in SWPA. How do these goals differ from the goals that you had in your country? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Your personal goals? ○ Your professional goals? ○ Your financial goals?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does formal or non-formal education help you to achieve your goals in SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How can a person who does not have formal or non-formal education achieve these goals in SWPA?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the most important thing that you want to achieve in SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For yourself, your family (if applicable)?
<p>R. 2. How do the Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal or non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment process in Southwestern PA?</p> <p>a) What obstacles to adjustment (Homeland security regulations, government policies/legislation and institutional interactions, service providers) do the Sudanese refugees report that they encountered during resettlement in the U.S.?</p> <p>b) What is the role of their formal/non-formal education in addressing the problems?</p>	<p>Interview Questions used to relate the formal/non-formal education experiences affecting acculturation of Sudanese refugees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please describe your education experience before coming to SWPA. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What is the highest grade you completed in your country? Can you write and read in your own language? ○ Did you know how to speak or write in English before coming to SWPA? ○ Please describe your formal and non-formal education experience after coming to the SWPA. What is the highest grade you completed in SWPA? • Tell me about where your formal/non-formal education took place.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have you had any unpleasant experiences from other students/instructors/agency service providers while participating in your formal/non-formal education experience? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Please explain, homeland, other settlement locations, SWPA? • Please describe how supportive or unsupportive your employers and fellow employees have been to your formal or non-formal education experience. (Allowance for time to go to classes (ESL, Cultural Orientation classes). • What has caused the easiest/hardest part of your formal/non-formal education experience? • What has been the greatest to you from your formal/non-formal education experience here in SWPA ? • Please describe how your formal/non-formal education experience helps you with getting medical or human services for you (or family) in SWPA. • Please describe how your formal/non-formal education experience helps you to feel comfortable enough to take care of your personal business. • How has your formal/non-formal education experience made you feel about speaking with native English speakers? • How has your formal/non-formal education experience helped you adjust to SWPA?
	<p>Interview Questions used to relate to political influences</p> <p>or policies that influence the acculturation of Sudanese refugees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain how your formal/non-formal education experience helped you better understand local, state, or federal government laws. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Understanding your lease; renting property? ◦ Obtaining driver's license? ◦ Preparing for Citizenship test? ◦ Understanding marriage laws of SWPA? ◦ Developing relationships in community? ◦ Getting health and welfare/social services? ◦ Getting services from voluntary or social services organizations? ◦ Understanding/managing difficulties related to housing, medical, or utility services? • How has your formal/non-formal education experience

	<p>helped you better understand what is meant to sign the political statement and the pledge of allegiance to the United States?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Applying for citizenship? ○ Meaning and use of social security system? ○ Understanding voting process in SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has your formal/non-formal education helped with any difficulties with any identification or permits? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Helped with understanding local, state and federal laws?
R.3. How do Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/non-formal education has affected their occupational adjustment in SWPA?	<p>Interview Questions used to economic influences affecting occupational adjustment of Sudanese refugees:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has formal/non-formal education experience helped you in finding a job? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Is your job in this area? • Is your current job similar to working in your country? Please explain. • How has your formal/non-formal education helped you improve your job or get a better job? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How has having regular earnings affected your adjustment in SWPA? ○ Has having regular earnings helped you to help those in your homeland? ○ How does your job affect your adjustment in SWPA? • How has your formal/non-formal education experience helped with banking, paying bills, and credit issues related to your adjustment in resettlement in SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Please tell me about your experiences with banking and credit issues. • How many jobs have you had since you came to SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Do agencies help in finding jobs? Explain. ○ What was your experience finding a job? ○ Which agencies have helped you with jobs? ○ Tell me about reasons a job can be lost. ○ How would formal/non-formal education influence keeping or losing a job? • How has formal/non-formal education helped you or others on the job when needed? • Have you ever heard of or witnessed discrimination on your job in SWPA? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Have you ever been aware of or experienced

	<p>discrimination when there were promotions at your workplace?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How has your formal/non-formal education helped you address discrimination in the workplace/community?
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4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND RESULTS

Following the completion of the established and approved protocol prescribed by the Institutional Review Board detailed in the previous section, the researcher began the data collection through the interviewing process. The pilot study provided useful insights to prepare for the challenges of the interviewing process for the actual study. There was some amount of nervousness with the expectation of meeting the participants whose lives were such an inspiration. The researcher was eager to hear their responses to the questions as they shared their lived experiences.

This chapter presents the findings and results from the individual interviews that were substantiated by several key sources: historic secondary data from the resettlement agency; field notes from observation of and participation in several acculturation trainings through formal, non formal, and informal education classes conducted by the resettlement agency and their resettlement partners most directly involved with Sudanese refugees that participated in this study; and documentation from the planning and review meetings of the ‘Project Freedom’ Celebrating Learning collaborative association. The ‘Project Freedom’ Celebrating Learning collaborative refers to the association that is comprised of the school-community-corporate-religious congregation members that are part of the resettlement receiving community of the Sudanese refugees, the participants in this study.

This chapter presents the findings and results that are generated from the interviews and supportive documentation, which are organized into three sections. The discussion begins with two tables: one provides an overview of the study participants; the other table captures participant demographic information by participant and is followed by participant profiles. The participant profiles or vignettes are followed by a brief discussion of the coordination among federal, state, and local services that relate to the individual experiences of the participants captured in this chapter. Section one discusses the clusters of overarching themes collected from the data related to the research questions that guide the study. The textural description of these thematic categories, which emerge from the participant responses, forms the foundation for the structure of their descriptions of their acculturation orientation. Section two enlarges upon the emergent thematic categories using the textural descriptions of their acculturation orientation to provide a framework for the analysis and a context to receive the participant reflections on how the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences have influenced their adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The reflections are the participants' actual voices, in response to the interview questions that are merged with the corresponding thematic categories. Finally, section three presents the participant reflections of their perceptions of how formal, non-formal, or informal education experiences have specifically influenced their occupational adjustment.

This study examines the broad acculturative experience of a total of fourteen Sudanese refugees and how they perceive that formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences provided pathways for the social, political, and economic influences of their adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the following research questions:

1. What (personal, professional, financial, and socio-economic) needs and goals are perceived as important by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
2. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal and non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
3. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/non-formal education has affected their occupational adjustment in Southwestern PA?

A component of the study also investigates whether the sites of formal, non-formal, and informal education, where interactions or intercultural contact with the receiving community occur, ever serve as sites for the construction of social identities of unequal relations of power and present barriers to building the capacity of education and cultural credentials inhibiting the adjustment of the Sudanese refugees.

4.1.1 Participant Demographic Details

The following categories and/or descriptors add insight into the resilient character of the Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania that participate in this study. Consistent with the literature that has characterized newer refugees in the twenty-first century as individuals with a variety of interests and skills, the Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania are also men and women representative of different interests, skill levels, and varying pre- and post-migration education experiences (Doyle, 2004).

One of the descriptors, the ‘Lost Boys,’ was recently made more popular in the film narrated by Nicole Kidman, “God Grew Tired of Us” (Quinn, 2006), about the forced migration and subsequent resettlement experience of some Sudanese young men forced to leave their

country. The researcher chose to use this term only for the purposes of a familiar descriptor for one of the participant groups in this study. There are six participants that could be described as ‘Lost Boys’ in this study. However, concurrent with Martin (2005) the researcher found that both the level of maturity required and the depth of survival strategies needed to endure just a portion of their experience distinguished these Sudanese young men from the fictional account of a group of boys following a mythical leader, ‘Peter Pan,’ whose coping skills never exceeded those needed for scenarios of a perpetual childhood.

The young men described as ‘Lost Boys’ resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania would have been approximately 18 years of age or older upon arrival. They would have been placed in an apartment shared with one or two other young Sudanese men and/or assisted by ‘foster’ families assigned by a parish through the resettlement agency sponsor. They would have completed high school or high school equivalency and attended college courses in the United States not Sudan. The descriptor ‘Lost Girls’ is also limited to this section. There are two Sudanese young women participants, so described, who also endured extreme personal violence and loss in the terror of forced migration, life in the refugee camp with no protectors having experienced isolation from other family members, and the persistent stress of a life of uncertainty complicated with the possible responsibilities as a single parent. Their high school education would be completed in the United States as opposed to Sudan pending that other family-related factors did not prevent their attendance.

Another important descriptor for the study participants is their ethnicity. As noted earlier there are over 400 different ethnic groups in Sudan. There are eight different non-Muslim ethnic groups represented among the study participants. Ethnicity is an important factor in the heritage of the Southern Sudanese study participants. Ethnicity is defined as the condition that

predisposes members of society, in a given social context, to emphasize as their most meaningful basis of primary, extra-familial identity certain assumed cultural, national, or semantic traits (Gatkuoth, 1995). Ethnic identity may include or be closely aligned with individuals' religious, racial, national, and/or perhaps also occupational beliefs. Ethnicity then becomes a form of consciousness that results in fixed loyalties expressed locally or regionally that are translated into predictable actions that are sometimes political actions of a unified group in opposition to the state (Gatkuoth, 1995). In Sudan the north-south hostility has brought political action by the northern state that has caused religious, political, and economic disruption among the traditional ethnic patterns in the southern region.

Each ethnic group represented in the study has its own culture and traditions specific to its tribe that are important to its heritage. The largest ethnic group of the participants was Dinka due primarily to the large percentage of Southern Sudanese 'Lost Boys' and 'Lost Girls' from that particular ethnic group that participated in the study. The Dinka make up roughly 40 percent of the population of Southern Sudan or 10 percent of Sudan's population. Other ethnic groups represented by the study participants included the Azande, Didinga, Avokaya, Moru, Bari, Baka, and Latuka. The importance of their ethnicity to their cultural heritage is that they are people who believe in the customs, their faith, traditions, and values of their people. They are people with values of respect, community, unity, marriage, family, and education.

Other descriptors that characterize the participants in this study include the highly skilled Sudanese: those with advanced degrees and professional training that remain underemployed in Southwestern Pennsylvania (e.g., medical clinicians, advanced trained medical professionals, bankers, and financial planners), and those from the middle class having been educated prior to resettlement yet who also remain underemployed in Southwestern Pennsylvania (e.g., education

prior to migration, former business or property owners, members of families of community leaders). Sudanese women in the study include those, similar to the men, with multiple descriptors as those with advanced degrees, those from the middle class with prior education, and women whose marital status is ‘married’ yet were functioning as single women and/or single parents whose husbands have not yet been permitted to join them in resettlement.

Some participants hold dual descriptors. They describe themselves as urban refugees with advanced degrees and prior education pre-migration in Sudan or from the first country of resettlement before reaching Southwestern Pennsylvania. They consider themselves *nearly* classified as asylees, those seeking asylum from within the United States, versus refugees. Yet their exodus is described as mass flight versus group escape via crossing borders on foot. They are among those in the Sudanese community in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

No names of the participants are used in the study in compliance with the requirements of the Institutional Review Board of the University to preserve the confidentiality of the participants. In the section that includes the actual comments or reflections of the respondents, the participants are identified using the number corresponding to their order among the participants in the data collection process. ‘*Mrs.*’ is used to indicate a female respondent when appropriate; ‘*Mrs.*’ as opposed to ‘*Ms.*’ is used since all of the women in the study are married.

The following table provides an overview or summary of the personal profile data compiled from responses to the background questions that explored information about the participants’ length of stay in Southwestern Pennsylvania, marital status, the segment of the Sudanese community represented, gender, status of family separation, religion, pre-migration education, education to date in resettlement, employment status, legal permanent residency status, and acculturation orientation.

The table illustrates that the study enters the lives of the Sudanese refugees on average six years into the men's and three years into the women's resettlement experience, which, according to the resettlement theorists cited earlier, indicates that they are still in the early stages of resettlement. Since acculturation or change is a continuing process, this study attempts to capture their experiences at this specific time in the history of these Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

It is also important to note that there are no preexisting Sudanese communities in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Yet consistent with Berry's (2001) typology of acculturation and intergroup relations, religious congregations affiliated with the resettlement agency and other religious congregations in the surrounding resettlement community provide intercultural contact experiences or spaces for mutual accommodation between the existing residents and the Sudanese refugees. The churches and mosques often become meeting places for refugees (Swigart, 2001). Eleven places of worship provide physical, financial, and social support for the Sudanese refugees. Sundays may be the only rest day for many refugees or immigrants that have multiple jobs during the week, so the worship service may take on a festive quality (Swigart, 2001). The researcher participated in the service at one of the places of worship where many of the study participants attended mass and observed how the religious practices differed from other American Catholic churches that do not have as many African parishioners. The musical selections, hymns singing, and church decorations are done in an effort to recreate a welcoming environment that celebrates the cultures of the various African countries represented in the diversity of the congregation. The worship experience includes worshipers that may wear traditional clothing, and prayers are offered in the languages of the various ethnic groups represented. The religious institutions, Catholic and Protestant, associated with the refugees in

the study serve as sources of spiritual instruction and also providers of social services where the refugees can attend workshops on areas of adjustment including dealing with finances, medical care, issues interacting with other children in schools, and receiving distribution of clothing, food, and school supplies. Their Christian faith, a source of constancy and controversy in their lives in their homeland, is a source of stability for the many challenges they faced while escaping across borders to the next crossroad of displacement and challenges in resettlement. With the exception of one Muslim study participant, all of the southern Sudanese study participants describe themselves as practicing Christians. The Muslim study participant comes from a family where the father is a Christian and the mother is a Muslim. Although not a participant in this study, another Christian family member of the Muslim study participant was identified that had resettled in Pennsylvania seven years ago. The Muslim study participant was acknowledged and welcomed into the worship experience.

The following two tables summarize in general and then specifically demographic data collected on the study participants.

Table 9 *Summary of Participant Demographic Information*

Sudanese Participants	Study	Pilot	Actual Study	
		Male	Male	Female
# Participants		4	6	4
Average Age		32	32	31
Average Years SWPA		6.25	5.5	3.0
Lost Boys		2	3	n.a.
Lost Girls		0	n.a.	2
Highly Skilled		2	4	1
Middle Class		1	2	2
Sudanese Women		0	n.a.	4
Sudanese Men		4	6	n.a.
Average Years separated from Sudanese family		20	17.5	6.25
Married		2	4	4
Advanced Degree		2	5	1
Pre-migration Education Completed Secondary		2	5	1
Employed		4	6	3
Average Months to Employment		2.8	2	9.7
Applied Citizenship		4	4	n.a.
Acculturation Orientation				
Integration		4	6	4
Assimilation		0	0	0
Separation		0	0	0
Marginalization		0	0	0

4.1.2 Participant Profiles

The individual profiles of the study participants provide another perspective and context from which to understand the essence of the perceptions of their experiences in adjustment conveyed in their responses in the interview. As discussed in the earlier section on forced migration, the participants that were forced from their homes in southern Sudan in the late 1980s through the

early 1990s endured a circuitous, dangerous trek, which perhaps included a return although not a reunion with family in Sudan, that was followed by a period of time spent in a refugee camp in Kenya before arrival in the United States. There were many difficult paths of uncertain ends during the journey. Catholic Charities, the local affiliate or volunteer agency (Volag) of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops received and placed or officially resettled the majority of the respondents in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Jewish Children and Family Services, another approved local resettlement agency or Volag, an affiliate of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), resettled two of the participants and one of the participants was resettled by the International Institute of Erie. As a group of refugees from southern Sudan, consistent with Kunz's (1973, 1981) research on forced displacement, they may be described as events-alienated refugees on a path to a new receiving society, but it is understanding their individual profiles that provides insight into how education facilitates the pathway to adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The vignettes or individual profiles give details on the participants' age, gender, religion, marital status, length of stay in Southwestern Pennsylvania, the segment of the Sudanese community that the respondent represents, years of family separation, pre-migration education, education to date in resettlement, employment status, residency status, and acculturation orientation. Unplanned, urgent departure made it impossible for the participants to provide official documentation of their time and place of birth. For this reason their age will be noted in terms of approximate years.

Table 10 *Summary of Demographic Information by Participant*

Participant Male/Female	Age	Years in SWPA	Years of Family Separa- tion	Marital Status	Ethnicity	Lost Boy/ Girl	Pre-Migration Education	Months to Employ- ment	Residency Status
#1 M	30	6	18	Married	Dinka	Y	Secondary	1	Citizen
#2 M	31	6	16	N	Azande	N	Secondary	3	Citizenship Applied
#3 M	41	5	27	W	Dinka	N	Middle	6	Citizenship Applied
#4 M	26	6	19	Y	Dinka	Y	Secondary	1	Citizenship Applied
#5 F	36	4	14	Y	Didinga	N	Primary	15	LPR
#6 M	29	6	20	Y	Dinka	Y	Secondary	1	Citizenship Applied
#7 F	31	1	2	Y	Avokaya	N	Advanced	2	LPR
#8 M	28	2	20	N	Moru	N	Secondary	4	LPR
#9 F	31	6	2	Y	Bari	Y	Middle	n.a.	LPR
#10 F	29	1	7	Y	Dinka	Y	Middle	12	LPR
#11 M	31	6	20	N	Dinka	Y	Secondary	3	Citizenship Applied
#12 M	29	6	21	Y	Dinka	Y	Secondary	2	Citizenship Applied
#13 M	42	6	0	Y	Baka	N	Advanced	0	Citizen
#14 M	37	4	24	Y	Latuka	N	Advanced	2	LPR

LPR – Legal Permanent Resident

Pilot Study Participants:

Participant #1 is an approximately 30-year-old Christian Sudanese man that could be described here as a ‘Lost Boy’ who has been in Southwestern PA (SWPA) for six years. Participant #1 was recently married to a woman from his homeland who is not resettled in the United States. He plans to join her so that they may spend time together soon. Since he has recently become a U.S. citizen he has more flexibility for travel than his new wife.

When Participant #1 came to SWPA he traveled with several other young men from Sudan. For those Sudanese refugees described as ‘Lost Boys,’ a minimum of nine years prior to coming to SWPA were spent in chronic displacement in a refugee camp in Kenya. Education in the refugee camp was not regular or as structured as the study participants’ pre-migration programs.

Participant #1 expresses high regard for education and recognizes it as a prominent goal of and means to adjustment in SWPA. He describes the English language as the way to fit into this country. Noting that there are so many things to learn to fit in (e.g., eating habits, way of life, the many cultures of the U.S. citizens), he says adjustment is more difficult for someone from Sudan in the U.S. than it is to adjust in Europe. There are more similar things in Europe to Africa than in the U.S. to Africa. Participant #1 says adjustment is not done in weeks but it takes YEARS. He perceives education as the key to a refugee’s way of absorbing information and accepting change, which he perceives is pivotal to adjustment. He considers English language training as a requirement for success in the workplace and in public to adapt in SWPA. He perceives that English is necessary for employment, for job mobility, and for better earnings capability. He is employed full time and states that he is constantly working on his English language skills. He believes that is important and largely the reason for overcoming obstacles to employment and his own supervisory position in manufacturing for the past four years.

Participant #1 says he no longer thinks of himself as a refugee, but says he will never forget the harsh experiences of being a refugee or his Dinka heritage and ethnicity. He shares that he speaks at least four languages and says it is very hard to be bicultural because combined culture requires going the extra mile, remembering so many languages, your language of your homeland, the settlement language, the resettlement language, the host language. Participant #1 notes that he favors integration into the resettlement culture rather than separating himself from it. But he quickly adds that he has no desire to abandon his Dinka heritage or culture although there are some things that he has eliminated. He believes that adjustment will be easier for those who accept resettlement as the end, their final home and there is nowhere else to go.

Participant #2 is an approximately 31-year-old Christian Sudanese man whose ethnicity is Azande. He is not married. He traveled alone and has been in the U.S for six years. He speaks of his homeland in southern Sudan as a small but nice city that, before the war in 1999, had great schools and services. But after the war started, the schools were closed and there were no more hospitals. His route of forced departure went from Khartoum to Cairo then to New York City (NYC) and then SWPA in 2005. His pre-migration secondary education in Khartoum and Cairo was in Arabic. He spent four years in New York City before coming to SWPA. Participant #2 expresses relief with the English language training in SWPA compared to the program in NYC. He describes his experience with English language training in NYC as difficult, stating that the

program started in the middle learning but he had beginning learning. Mr. Participant #2 is enthusiastic about the program in SWPA through GLCLC⁷, because it has made such a difference in one and a half years as compared to the other language learning class in another state. He states that learning has made his new life easier. He greatly misses his family and homeland but learning is helping in this new life in SWPA. Also Participant #2 expresses how important it is to him that his employer allows his schedule to be adjusted so that he could take the classes. He completed his GED since in SWPA through the help of AJAPO.

He believes that English is the most important thing for his life! He is employed full time working in construction doing drywall work but continues taking English language and other classes. His work is very important to him so that he can help, by sending funds, to his four sisters and two brothers that he has seen in 16 years. He goes to the library to complete assignments using the computer. Participant #2 is pleased that he can take care of his own bills and go to the grocery store. He notes that if he wants he can take public transportation but is very proud to add that he now drives. Obtaining the driver's license, an important adjustment indicator of the resettlement agency service plan, is just one of the ways that Participant #2 demonstrates his integrative acculturative mode that embraces the ways of being successful in the receiving society while being committed to the family members that represent his cultural heritage.

Participant #3 is an approximately 41-year-old Christian Sudanese man that is a widower and single parent of two children. His ethnicity is Dinka. He has been in the United States for seven years, five of these years in SWPA. He was in northern Sudan in middle school and his parents were in southern Sudan when he was forced to leave the country. His routes of forced departure lead him from Sudan to Egypt then Lebanon where he met and married his late wife. Participant #3 notes that the classes that he took in northern Sudan were in English, but it was a different English not the same as the English spoken at work or that he hears in SWPA. The few classes that he had in Egypt and Lebanon were in Arabic. His classes were limited because his primary concern was to find a job to survive. Following the death of his wife, Participant #3 and his two children fled to the United States, first landing in New York and then being resettled in SWPA.

Participant #3 describes adjustment as a single parent in a new place with limited English language skills as challenging. Employment was the goal described to him in resettlement but his early dilemma, he states as a question, is where to leave the kids? The only work was at night or in middle of the night. A new shift assignment and finding another single father for a roommate has made things more workable. Adding English language classes to the work schedule further complicated the childcare problems. His dream is to get more education especially English language training, but he puts the education and life for his children at the forefront. Since being in SWPA he has earned his GED and works on improving his English language skills reading with his children. He maintains his cultural heritage by participating regularly in the worship services and fellowship times after worship with other Sudanese before going to work.

When he first arrived in SWPA he wanted to find a way to get back to Sudan but looking at his children in this country that is only a dream. He fears that his mother and father may now be deceased but hopes to find a brother or sister from whom he has been separated for 27 years possibly alive to reunite with and meet his children. He believes that it is not too late for

⁷ Pseudonym for name of language training organization

education for himself, but the education of his children is primary for their success in this country.

Participant #4 is an approximately 26-year-old Christian Sudanese man that could be described here as a ‘Lost Boy’ who has been in Southwestern PA (SWPA) for six years. His ethnicity is Dinka. He was recently married to a woman from Sudan. He describes his journey as painful with a route that started in Sudan then to Ethiopia back to Sudan on to Kenya and then to the U.S. His return to Sudan was not to be reunited with family and then was followed by a stay in a refugee camp for a long period of time. He landed in New York City and then came to SWPA. He has been in SWPA for six years. His early study in Sudan included English, but it was British English. Participant #4 notes that he knew English but not American English. The researcher listened closely to capture responses since the participant refused being tape-recorded.

His English speaking, although with an accent, can be understood by the researcher as he confidently expresses that his English speaking is helpful in securing employment and that now people do not ask him to repeat over again what he is saying. But as he expresses how he misses his lovely country and family that he has not seen in 19 years until last year, he notes that he is encouraged that he can use his English language to explain how things are done on his job to other employees that are native English speakers. He is employed full time and his employer has been flexible with his work schedule to allow going to English language training classes. Participant #4 highly values education and states that it is his number-one goal in adjustment in SWPA to get more education than he has now. He completed his GED and then recently completed a degree in civil engineering and plans to continue his education. Participant #4 is adamant about the importance of English language training in the adjustment process and eager to continue to learn more, which demonstrates his integrative acculturation mode. However he is very clear on the importance of balance in the use of the language of his culture and the English language spoken in SWPA. Participant #4 laments that he can never use his language for a whole day!

Main Study Participants:

Mrs. Participant #5 is the first female interviewed. She is an approximately 36-year-old Christian Sudanese married woman. Her ethnicity is Didinga. Participant #5 functions in SWPA as a single Mom of five children that range in age from three to 10 years of age. Her husband has not yet been resettled and remains in a refugee camp in Kenya. Her migration route from Sudan to Kenya and dislocation in the refugee camp included time in Nairobi where she was taught some English by Dominican Sisters. But she explains that it is different from the English language that she hears in SWPA.

She describes her experience as a ‘hard time’ being so unsettled for the past 18 years. At the time of the interview she has been in SWPA for four years. She notes that she had very little education, about one year, before being forced to leave her homeland. In 1992 when the schools were shut down in southern Sudan, she was learning to read and write in her own language, Arabic. She also speaks three other languages not including English. Although having experienced limited education, Participant #5 has a small business taking in sewing for others as a dressmaker.

Participant #5 states that SWPA is the first city in the United States that she has seen or lived in. She considers it home for now but as she learns English from interacting with her

neighbors, at church, and from her children, she continues to speak her language and to teach it to her children. Participant #5 believes it is important for her children to know their heritage and their language. Her primary goals in SWPA are that her children grow up Christians and that they have a good education to do well in this country. Their schedules are her priority. Her faith is very important to her. She grew up very much involved in the church where her father was a church leader. It has been 14 years since she has had contact with her parents and family in Sudan. However, recently she has found those that can get word to her from her husband in the Majus refugee camp in Kenya. She refers to the contact made as 'getting permission from her husband.' She looks forward to his resettlement in SWPA. They were dislocated at different refugee camps in Kenya.

The children and family worship at St. Benedict the Moor church when the church van picks them up for service. Participant #5 enjoys the intracultural contact with other Sudanese that she meets at church and the interaction for the children with other Sudanese youth. In the community when she sees her neighbors they just say 'hi' or 'what you say?' That makes her get more frustrated but she does not give up on communicating. She embraces the opportunity to learn more about this culture although continuing to incorporate maintenance of her Didinga cultural heritage for herself and her children. She communicates with the neighbors and in the grocery store in English through her children. The older children help with bill paying, due dates, and payments. When she first arrived she took English language training but she has difficulty of childcare and transportation needs, waiting for buses two hours each way so that classes have become impossible to attend. Two years ago she found out about English language classes in the community center near her home that she attends when possible around the children's schedules. The limited language skills have helped her when meeting with her children's teachers. But she describes hospitals and doctors visits as very hard. When she has to go to the doctor for children's check ups she has called for help from the resettlement agency caseworker to go with her. But she still has problems with written instructions by herself and relies on help from the resettlement agency volunteers or the mutual assistance association, for the follow up needed to navigate through health care, with the school district matters, and day to day living needs. Daily goals include the children's health and hygiene and being able to take care of bills. She has only been able to have sporadic part-time employment. Participant #5 battles discouragement in the area of communication with community, school district, and various service providers but overall has a positive outlook on an integrative mode of acculturation in adjustment in SWPA and hopes to obtain a driver's license one day to manage her exhaustion with traveling with the children for appointments via public transportation.

Mr. Participant #6 is an approximately 27- year-old Sudanese Christian man that could be described here as a 'Lost Boy' who has been in the SWPA for six years. SWPA was his point of landing after a difficult journey from Sudan followed by an extended stay in a refugee camp in Kenya. Yet although similar to other study participants with multiple jobs and classes at college, Participant #6 presents an exceptionally driven, high-energy personality. His ethnicity is Dinka. He recently married a Dinka woman who is still in Kenya and that he hopes will join him soon. It was with joy that Participant #6 shares that he had not seen his family for approximately 27 until January 2007.

Participant #6 highly regards his Dinka heritage and customs. He explains that the significance of the Dinka ethnicity is found in a deeply held respect for the elders, what they represent, yourself, and your family. One is not to bring shame on their individual family or the

family at large. The Dinka culture follows a tradition where the rulers govern the tribe and, out of respect, members of the Dinka culture obey the rules. Here, he notes the individual rules or controls. He adheres to an integrative acculturative mode of adjustment in SWPA being committed to maintain the Dinka tradition of respect for seniors, himself, and others, yet he is eager to learn everything about the culture in SWPA to achieve his personal goals.

Participant #6 completed the secondary education started in Sudan and also earned an associate's degree in SWPA. His greatest times of interaction with members of the SWPA community are at work and on campus. Participant #6 notes that the teachers and good students encouraged him to pursue his dreams to have a future of his choosing. His personal goals are to get the best education possible so that he can be self sufficient, supporting a wife and children, own a car and a home in the U.S. But he was certain that he wanted to go back to Sudan to retire. Mr. Participant # 6 is employed in housekeeping services at a hotel and a hospital.

Mrs. Participant #7 is an approximately 31-year-old married Sudanese woman who is looking forward to her husband joining her since he is still in Egypt. Her ethnicity is Avokaya. She has been in SWPA for one year. Her mother and sisters have all been displaced from Sudan. She was also listed as a refugee when she arrived in Saudi Arabia. She has an uncle in SWPA that was resettled six years prior to her arrival.

Prior to forced migration, she had achieved first year of advanced studies and was in medical school. She had also been employed as a freelance reporter and had close family ties. She describes that her family was split apart and her goals became to survive. She looks forward to her husband coming to SWPA and seeing her mother and sisters so that they can become a family again. She and her husband communicate via telephone and electronic mail.

Mrs. Participant #7 speaks four languages including English. She took classes where Catholic Charities sent her when she first arrived, which helped her with the language to improve on English that she took in school in Sudan. But she states that it is at her place of employment when speaking with others from SWPA on the job that helps her to learn the language better. Mrs. Participant #7 says that community overall has been welcoming. She notes that the hilly areas of SWPA remind her of her community in her homeland. She notes that she does not care that some of the people laugh or smile and ask her to repeat what she has said because she knows that her English is getting better. But she states that she has been able to use the language well enough to get around using the public transportation, take care of housing issues, work on her job, and get medical services. However, although her English speaking is improving, her limited English language skills sometimes make her feel isolated unlike being at home where she felt part of a loving family and community. She attributes those limited skills to her lack of progressing at work.

Mrs. Participant #7 is determined to overcome the three lost years of dislocation in Egypt after fleeing Sudan. She was unable to go to school or work at anything other than housekeeping when in Egypt. When placed in SWPA the resettlement agency asked what she had done before forced migration but once again she was only able to have a job in housekeeping. Mrs. Participant #7 shares that sometimes she experiences some frustration with her current situation with her job but states that she sees the job as only something to get money to provide the things that she needs and it is not who she really is.

Her goals are represented in the linkage of the reuniting of her family, resuming her professional career, and making a life, which were all interrupted. She states that her education helped her even though she cannot do everything that she wants to do in SWPA. Mrs. Participant

#7 believes that someone without the education that she has would not have been able to get as far as she has to date. Her belief and her faith have been a source of comfort although she has not been able to worship as frequently as desired. Although of different faiths, she has recently been attending church with her uncle.

There are many different people of different faiths in the community where Mrs. Participant # 7 is resettled. She expresses surprise that the community has so many refugees. She thought from the orientation prior to arrival that the U.S. communities were mostly all Americans. Mrs. Participant #7 favors an integrative acculturation mode and feels that she needs to fully participate in her new country. She is learning as much as possible about SWPA, because this is now her home. But she is firm about remembering her own culture including, when possible, speaking the language of her grandmother with others from Sudan that know the language. She looks for things in SWPA that can relate to favorite foods or traditions from her homeland to share with her new neighbors. The vegetable okra has become a comfort food in a new home and a comforting reminder of a treasured one.

Mr. Participant #8 is an approximately 28-year-old Christian Sudanese man who has been in SWPA for two years. His route of forced migration started in 1987 and took him from Sudan to Ethiopia for three years then to Kenya for 12 years of dislocation in a refugee camp. He landed in New York then came to SWPA. Forced migration has taken its toll on his life and traditions. Participant #8 whose ethnicity is Moru states that his parents disappeared prior to his departure. Then his wife that preceded him in resettlement in 2004 in the United States made the decision to take up with someone else. Now he is now divorced, which is a break from his ethnic tradition and values. He notes that he misses his two children.

Participant #8 took English language classes for about six months after arrival in SWPA through GLCLC. He also took (*British*) English in high school when in Kenya. He continued his education in SWPA with a GED and earning an advanced degree. His acculturation mode is integrative. The treasured customs of his homeland are very important to him, but he seizes the opportunities available to him in resettlement: education, employment, and many new associations with people in his community, at school, and at work. He refers to Sudan as his heart and home but considers SWPA as a nice place and accepts that he cannot return home at this time. Education is his number-one priority to achieve his personal and financial goals. He wants to become an engineer and have enough money to marry again and buy a car and a home. He speaks almost six languages including English and enjoys making new friends and practicing English talking with them at work.

Participant #8 has a lot of social interaction with other Sudanese at worship services and enjoys meeting people after church for dinner. It was not that way when he first arrived. He felt isolated. He speaks of the Sudanese associations that he has heard about in Arizona, Michigan, and Illinois and looks forward to more Sudanese dancing, singing songs, and fellowship like that in SWPA. He notes that he misses the special celebrations that are life event milestones for maturity for young men and women, but knows that those are cultural celebrations that for now are lost to him.

Participant #8 is pleased that other men from Sudan work where he is employed. He is employed at a hotel in the area and at a manufacturing plant. He had a small shop in Africa and is now able to write up a good resume for a specific job. He has recently secured a driver's permit on his own.

Participant #8 believes that his education has helped him to adjust. He can pay his bills with checks. He is glad to be in SWPA, which he describes as a safer place than New York where there was too much fighting. He enjoys his friends at school and church and the coworkers at both jobs. He can make a life.

Mrs. Participant # 9 is an approximately 31-year-old Sudanese woman. There is some uncertainty about whether she could be described here as a Lost Girl. Prior to arrival in SWPA her last sustained period of dislocation was in Egypt. She has been in SWPA for six years but speaks very little English. She is married to a Sudanese man who preceded her in resettlement to SWPA. She has a sister that is resettled in Michigan. She is a homemaker and mother of two girls of preschool age and one boy who was recently born in the United States. Her husband was not a study participant, but Mrs. Participant #9 states that he speaks very good English but they speak Swahili in their home. Her husband helps her with her English speaking by reading the newspaper with her in the evening. She speaks five languages not including English.

Mrs. Participant #9's ethnicity is Bari. She notes that she is amazed at the number of different people from different countries there are in her community. She expresses pleasure that she shares some common languages with them. She states that she is careful to listen and does not speak unless she has to and is usually with others that speak in Arabic when taking the public transportation to Giant Eagle or Walmart, two new favorite stores. She completed middle school in Sudan before being interrupted by the war. She is not a regular attendee but is taking English language training classes now and participates in the Family Learning Center women's sewing circle activities during the day after her class. She enjoys meeting with the other women and exchanging ideas about her culture and learning about their cultures. She notes that she also learns about SWPA and the culture of her new community from the television. She demonstrates an integrative acculturation mode.

The most important goal for her in SWPA is her children's education. But she is firm about the importance of remembering her culture and teaching it to the children. Mrs. Participant #9 has a sister who was resettled in the United States but lives in Michigan. She came to SWPA when Mrs. Participant #9 had the baby. They observed a tradition of purification after the baby was born and her sister brought bracelets for the newborn. Mrs. Participant #9 is happy for the prospects of the life for her children, their education, and for the safety that she perceives they have in SWPA. Although her English language learning is developing slowly she and the children have adopted new favorite customs and foods in SWPA. The intercultural contact at the Family Learning Center is helping Mrs. Participant #9 make new friends for the children and herself to treasure.

Mrs. Participant # 10 is an approximately 29- year-old Christian Sudanese woman that could be described here as a 'Lost Girl' in SWPA. Mrs. Participant #10 has been in SWPA for one year. Her ethnicity is Dinka. Her route of forced migration concluded with six years of dislocation in the refugee camp in Kenya before coming to SWPA, her first city of landing. She and two daughters were resettled by Jewish Family Children's Services unlike the majority of study participants. The children are 10 and six years old.

She joined her husband who was already resettled in SWPA. Although she has had no contact with family in Sudan for past seven years, she has a sister who is resettled in New York with whom she now maintains contact. Memories of her homeland are filled with loss and sadness. She is appreciative of the resettlement agency caseworker that has helped with services

for the family in resettlement. She explains how helpful the caseworker has been in registering the children for school, services for renting for the entire family, for food and health care. Mrs. Participant #10 speaks four languages including English. She is taking English language training classes at the GLCLC in the community complex and participates in Family Learning Center activities with other mothers. Her acculturation mode is integrative as she enjoys and actively participates in the interaction with the other women from Sudan, building relationships and learning about the other nationalities and cultures in the group. But she is adamant that it is important to teach the children who they are and where they are from. She believes that knowing their cultural heritage will provide discipline for their behavior.

Her number-one goal for herself and her children is education. Education has helped her to listen, to speak to others from SWPA, to be able to go to the grocery store on her own, and to successfully use public transportation. At first she needed the caseworker to accompany her for doctor visits for the children, but now she is proud to say that she is able to take the children on her own. She would like to become a lawyer.

She considers the greatest benefit of education and her language training is knowing about the culture and being able to communicate with others. Mrs. Participant #10 reinforces their culture with the children by speaking their language at home. They speak three languages including English well already she happily notes. She has recently learned that there are some services available through the mail.

Mrs. Participant #10 states that the time spent at the Family Learning Center is good because of the stories and experiences shared. She explains that even understanding television was a little difficult when at her home but when the program could be discussed at the Family Learning Center with the others it became much easier to understand. But she recalled being familiar with the Oprah television program prior to coming to SWPA!

At the time of the interview she was not yet employed, but within the timeframe that the researcher went back to the location to complete another interview, Mrs. Participant #10 was employed in the service industry.

Mr. Participant # 11 is an approximately 31-year-old Christian Sudanese man that could be described here as a 'Lost Boy' who has been in SWPA for six years. His forced migration route started in Sudan, took him to Ethiopia, and ended in displacement in a refugee camp in Kenya for a minimum of nine years. He did not want to recount in detail this period of his life, the extended period of time with little or no contact with his family in Sudan, but a positive part of the experience was that he was resettled in SWPA with three other young men with whom he shared that horrible experience. He is not married but shares an apartment with a fellow Sudanese man.

His ethnicity is Dinka. He values his cultural heritage and education highly. It is his primary objective in resettlement. His pre-migration education ended at the start of secondary education. He states that the most difficult part of his adjustment experience is his language barrier. He learned British English when classes were available during his stay in the refugee camp but he found that very different from American English. He attended English language training classes at the main office of the GLCLC and at the location in the Family Learning Center within his community. He continues to work on his English language speaking which was challenging for the researcher and participant for the interview. His acculturation mode notwithstanding is integrative as he is intent on learning the culture of SWPA yet interacting with his Sudanese roommate and others at church and other times when possible in one of the four

languages that he speaks in addition to English. He is employed full time and continues to work on his communication skills in the workplace.

His most important goal is education and he is working on achieving a GED. He states that if a person was new coming here that he would tell them the secret to the most successful adjustment would be to learn to speak the language to be able to communicate with the existing residents.

Mr. Participant # 12 is an approximately 29-year-old Christian Sudanese man that could be described here as a 'Lost Boy' who has been in SWPA for six years. He is married and has two daughters that joined him in the past two years. His route of forced migration started in Sudan and ended with a nine-year period of dislocation in a refugee camp in Kenya prior to coming to the United States in resettlement. His point of landing was New York, and then he was resettled in SWPA. He traveled with others from southern Sudan. He expresses his love for his country and disdain for the war that stripped his homeland of its rich resources.

His ethnicity is Dinka. He enthusiastically outlines the importance of the Dinka markers of esteem for cultural heritage, respect for seniors, the roles and responsibilities of men and women in their homeland, and the importance of education. Young people give respect for seniors. Young people do not participate in criminal activities. Men are responsible for finances and community. Women are responsible for home and family life. He noted that there is no divorce in the Dinka culture. He laments the loss of traditions and cultural events to mark life's milestones in resettlement. It has been 21 years since he has seen his parents. But he does note that with education in the current Dinka culture women could hold positions in the government and business. He shares that seven southern Sudanese men have selected a wife from among Sudanese women from their homeland.

He explains his integrative acculturation mode in terms of eagerly participating in settings where he can interact with people from SWPA at work, at the market, shopping, at school, and even at church. Yet he is committed to seek out settings to meet with people from Sudan at church and at Sudanese Community meetings in SWPA, Erie, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C. when possible. There is Dinka music and dancing.

Participant # 12's pre-migration education in Sudan ended with middle school but he continued his education in the irregular classes in the refugee camp school as others have noted. He took four months of English language training after arriving in SWPA. He proudly notes that he completed a college degree at the Community College at the end of 2006 and plans to go on to pursue a four-year degree. He can read, speak, and write three languages including English. He became much better in his English language skills during 2004-2005 to be able to navigate social service and medical services.

Participant #12 is employed full time. He notes that his current position he sought, applied to, and interviewed for on his own. This position is the one that the resettlement agency helped him to find. This position as a baker enables him to interact with many people from SWPA and with those from Sudan who hold other positions. He participates in developing issues papers sent to Congressman, organizing Save Darfur meetings and other venues where people from SWPA can learn about the war/situation in Darfur.

Participant #12 suggests several important keys to adjustment in resettlement:

1. Understand the language first to be able to communicate and cultivate friends;
2. Remember your own culture;
3. Use church as good place to find good friends with direction;

4. There are Sudanese people here who can help; and
5. Must remember everything here is based on the law.

Mr. Participant # 13 is an approximately 42- year-old Christian Sudanese man who has been in the United States for six years and SWPA for one year. Participant #13's route of forced migration started in Sudan, then to Egypt, Damascus, Syria, back to Sudan, to Cairo, Erie, PA and on to SWPA. Participant #13 and his wife and two sons were resettled by the International Institute of Erie. There are now three sons, one eleven, one eight and one three years old. His ethnicity is Baka, which is one of the smallest ethnic groups in southern Sudan. Their customs and traditions highly value the family, faith, respect for the individual, and education. Participant #13's father, a member of the military, maintained a structured home life with high expectations for the children's achievement. His experience is a little different from other participants regarding family separation. He has not seen his parents recently but does maintain contact by telephone. His parents did not want to come to U.S. after viewing media reports and television about the violence in U.S. cities. He has two cousins that were resettled to SWPA. But one of them experienced a secondary migration to Arizona and is now serving in the military in Iraq for the U.S.

Participant #13 completed his pre-migration education through secondary school and an undergraduate degree in accounting in Sudan. He attended Oxford University for advanced study in accounting. A British firm employed Participant #13 as a currency manager or investment strategist with banks monitoring rates of Sudanese currency, US dollars, and Australian pounds. His client base and responsibilities required his travel from Sudan to Britain and contact with the American and British embassy. He was forced to leave Sudan after he and his family experienced problems and complications with the agents of the northern Sudanese military. With his British equivalent of social security he was able to secure employment at his first country of asylum. Ironically it was as an employment specialist for Sudanese professionals through the Episcopal Church. After a series of problems in that location and program being discontinued, it was necessary to make another unplanned escape. His first point of landing in the U.S. was in Erie, PA. Participant #13 accepted a position with Catholic Charities working with the Sudanese. Then he had a secondary migration to SWPA. He states that taking ESL classes was not necessary for him but he continues to work on his spoken English slowly eliminating his accent. He speaks eight languages including English.

When asked, he says that he is from Erie, PA although he considers SWPA his home now. He states that everyone in SWPA has been very welcoming to him.

Participant #13 was employed quickly but not in the field of his training or pre-migration area of expertise. Unfortunately his abrupt departure resulted in inadequate documentation of his advanced studies that would validate similar employment in the banking industry in the U.S. Participant #13 did secure a position in a local mainstream banking institution but not as a financial planner or investment strategist as formerly employed. He anticipates a position change in near term. Notwithstanding the current underemployment situation, Participant #13 exhibits an integrative acculturation mode continuing to pursue advanced studies that will position him to resume his pre-migration career. Participant #13 is involved in intercultural contact at school, church, and in his community. He is very active in his sons' sports activities and interacts with other parents. He is quick to add that although actively engaged in the new culture, Participant #13 maintains his cultural heritage by speaking Arabic at home with his children. He talks to his sons about the Baka way that the father and the oldest son look out after the family. Participant

#13 and his children attend religious school and church regularly. He is pleased to note that he has moved beyond the housing originally provided through the resettlement agency to one of his choosing for his family.

Participant #13 shares the key to the adjustment as learn to speak **American** English. He notes British English is different!

Mr. Participant #14 is an approximately 37-year-old Christian Sudanese man whose ethnicity is Latuka. He has been in SWPA four years. It has been 24 years since he has seen his parents and family. He has been able to establish email contact with a brother and sister. His route of forced migration was from Sudan to Nigeria with a point of landing in the U.S. in Miami, and then he came to SWPA. Participant #14 is married to a woman from his homeland.

Participant #14's pre-migration education (primary, secondary, through university) was completed in Sudan. He obtained an advanced or master's degree in Business Administration in Nigeria. His first employment in resettlement in SWPA is security guard and correction officer. Participant #14 reads and writes English like a native, but is working on his English speaking skills. He speaks seven languages including English.

Participant #14 self describes his acculturation mode as integrative, desiring to embrace this new culture of SWPA while maintaining his own cultural heritage. He is intent on remembering the foundation of his upbringing so that he can see that he develops as an individual. He enjoys Thanksgiving as it is a reminder of a special festival in his homeland. He considers SWPA home for now but envisions a future back in Sudan one day. Aspects of the new culture that he loves are the spirit of hard work and a preventative attitude toward health care. His education has helped him to communicate and understand those with whom he comes in contact in the workplace. He was able to secure employment in only two months. His first employment was secured through the resettlement agency, but he found and interviewed for his current position as a designer on his own.

In addition to inter-cultural contact at work, he also enjoys the intra-cultural contact at worship with other Sudanese and other nationalities. Worship and respect are key components of the Latuka ethnic identity. He is involved with activities with other Sudanese through the Sudanese community and sees it as a valuable tool for assisting adjustment for the newcomer in resettlement.

Participant #14 would advise any new Sudanese refugee to expect it to take about three to four years to learn how life is in SWPA. He would suggest two tracts, one if already able to speak English then they attend workshops at AJAPO, by the Sudanese community, with the resettlement agency for support while they are getting used to all of the new things in SWPA. If unable to communicate in English take the ESL classes at GLCLC and learn the language. It will make a huge difference in the experience.

Olga Vaynshtok captured the scope and difficulty in the stages of resettlement for the refugees in her comment, "Sometimes we are so happy for our refugee clients that 'they made it here' that we tend to forget that their journey does not end when they step on American soil; it just begins" (Vaynshtok, 2001).

To promote continuity in the study, where appropriate the conceptual headings from the literature review - Trials, Transition, and Trade Offs - are used as subheadings to characterize the emergent thematic categories within each section of this chapter.

4.1.3 Findings of the Study and Overarching Themes that Emerge

The salient themes that emerge from the study include:

A. TRIALS:

Emergent Thematic categories in this section captured from the participants' reflections are related to the trials of forced migration. These experiences have a role in their attitude toward adjustment in resettlement. The thematic category of loss and isolation encompasses the participants' reflections and themes on their forced migration, separation from their family and homeland, and the extent of loss (loved ones, status, degrees, employment) that they experienced. Within the thematic category of loss of culture and traditions the participants' reflections include themes of the loss of their culture especially the loss of respect, Dinka integrity, and Dinka identity influence their perception of adjustment.

Forced Departure

Loss and Isolation

Loss of Culture and Traditions

B. TRANSITION:

The thematic categories in this section capture the participants' reflections of the experiences when one transitions from forced migration to a third country of resettlement. These themes emerge among patterns of acculturation from inter- and intra-cultural contact in the

resettlement community. The thematic categories of needs and goals in resettlement, which highlight education as the principle goal, include sub themes from the participants' perceptions of the key factors for achieving personal, professional, and economic goals of adjustment. Education as a pathway to restoration emerges as a thematic category with themes of safety and security, education as a key to use medical, transportation, and community services. Sub themes also include education as key to the icons of adjustment: driver's license, citizenship, and home ownership from the participants' reflections.

Acculturation Patterns

Education and Building New Relationships

Needs and Goals

Education Pathway to Restoration

Overcoming Obstacles to Adjustment

C. TRADE OFFS:

The thematic categories in this section capture the participants' reflections of the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences or pathways that shaped their responses or 'Trade Offs' to mechanisms employed to cope with the challenges of adjustment that they faced in occupational adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Within the thematic categories shown below, themes emerge concerning the importance and linkage between the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences and the social, political, and economic influences of adjustment. Themes on discrimination and underemployment emerge in this section from the participants' reflections on employment opportunities and further education including English language training.

English Language and Employment Placement

Fast Track to Employment and Self-Sufficiency

English Language and Employment

English Language and Improved Employment

Discrimination Issues

Underemployment Issues

4.1.4 Reflections of the Participants

This section includes the voices of the Sudanese refugees. The voices of the participants represent the raw data of interviews or the actual quotations spoken by the participants. There is no substitute for these data: the actual words said by real people (Patton, 2003).

It is noteworthy that the resettlement agency and mutual assistance association heralded an important distinction that set the Sudanese refugees apart from other forced migrants that have been resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania, in that almost *all* of the Sudanese refugees are able to communicate in English having had some level of pre-migration English language learning/education experience. Yet, the variety of the formal and non-formal education experiences, specifically language learning experiences, during forced migration affected their level of fluency, accent for their ‘spoken’ English, and communication ease between the researcher and the participants. The interviewing process presented some communication challenges. The participants in this study were impressive and representative of seven ethnicities or tribes and could speak on average three languages plus English. The researcher could speak two languages but it was the enthusiasm and desire of the participants to be understood while sharing their adjustment experiences and the desire of the researcher to understand and give

voice to their experiences that created an environment of eager anticipation to overcome any obstacles to meaningful communication.

The formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences associated with language learning are pivotal to the study. Spradley (1979, as cited in Campbell, 1996) emphasizes the centrality of language to the analysis of an interview transcript and conveys that language extends beyond a means of communication about reality to become a tool for constructing reality. In this study, language is essential to the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences as a medium to convey the social, economic, and political factors that influence the adjustment process. The researcher adopted active listening during the interviews and to the tapes while being immersed in the transcripts to explore the participants' understandings of their particular experiences relative to adjustment in the context of their everyday lives. The researcher was constantly aware of and resistant to personal bias and views that would affect or overshadow the interpretation of the words of the participants (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

A. TRIALS:

This first segment of participant reflections addresses the responses during the background inquiry. The responses to these questions on the participants' pre-migration lives and forced migration patterns provide the context for interpretation of the remainder of the participants' responses. Consistent with the literature review, this section entitled 'Trials' corresponds to the factors that lead up to and include the forced migration experience. Their departures were '*acute*' refugee movements either by individual and/or group escapes crossing borders by foot, some by airplane, landing in another country or a refugee camp. Routes of departure sometimes included three to four countries of movement in displacement (e.g., Eritrea,

Chad, Kenya, Egypt, and Lebanon). In the case of one of the participants, his route diverted him back to Sudan twice before his final escape to Egypt and then on to resettlement in the United States. His journey landed him in Erie, Pennsylvania and from there he had a secondary migration in resettlement to Southwestern Pennsylvania.

4.1.4.1 Participant Reflections on Loss and Isolation

When the researcher asked the participants about their decisions to leave their homeland, family members left behind, and the journey into resettlement, *loss emerges as a repeated, critical thematic category*. Sudanese refugees have experienced extended periods of little or no contact with parents and other family members. Some of the participants have been separated from family members for periods ranging from 16 to 27 years. This is one of the most striking findings of the study, which was captured during the personal profile data collection. The loss that they describe is pervasive, encompassing loss of home, family members, loss of degrees or credentialing, and loss of a sense of safety, stability, and community. In their resettlement documentation even their actual birthdates were lost. For the resettlement processing procedure their birthdates were defaulted to January 1 with an approximation given for their birth year. In many cases the refugees associate their birth year with a major event in their homeland, for example year of the large flood, or some change in community leadership or conflict.

There is agreement in the accounts of the Sudanese refugees in the pilot study and everyone in the main study with respect to their human rights violations, persecution, and escape. Descriptions used for the extended separation from their family and loved ones are significant sub themes. The researcher modified the interview protocol in the actual study to inquire if the participant traveled alone or accompanied with anyone else. This information provides

perspective on the aspect of isolation in resettlement and the associated effects for embracing intergroup relations. Discussion of this aspect of their acute departure during the data collection is emotive for the participant to convey and for the researcher to hear and record. Participants acknowledge the challenges of making a new start without family around to support or encourage them in the excerpts below. The depth of isolation and aloneness is evident in the response of **Mrs. Participant 7**: *“I came here alone. I am waiting for my husband to come. We can make a family and develop a community. I am trying not to feel so alone. The gatherings at St. Benedict the Moor church helps me not to feel so alone.”*

The range of years of isolation from parents and family for the participants is from 16 to over 27 years. Forced migration and isolation produce a complex mixture of responses – hopefulness, emptiness of uncertainty, and yet resolve are reflected in the response from **Participant 8**: *“I came here looking for a better life. I had no one from my family here in the U.S. I do not know what has happened to my family since I left. I do not think of here as home but feel that I am here and this is nice place while I cannot return to my country.”*

In a personal communication with the executive director of the mutual assistance association it was conveyed that when the parents are aware of the imminent danger and potential death they send their children to flee across borders for their safety and the preservation of their family, community, and culture. One of the participants had not seen or had communication with his parents and family for 27 years. In spite of the recent tenuous peace accord in Sudan, some of the participants still wonder if their parents, siblings, or family members left behind are still alive.

4.1.4.2 Participant Reflections on Loss of Culture and Traditions

Sudanese memories of their homeland and culture were painfully recalled. The participants recount the importance of family, respect, and cultural integrity. When the participants were asked which aspect of their culture or traditions they mourn, several important traditions are noted that are lost in the Southwestern Pennsylvania culture. Forced migration robbed the participants of the traditions and cultural-marker milestones that would have established their position in society and prepared them to accept responsibility for their future. **Participant 8** describes it this way: *“There is a special ceremony that marks maturation between 15 and 18 years. It is a special observance of manhood that I miss. There are rituals that mark adult manhood. I realize that these customs are gone. I am about to forget all the Sudanese customs because of my time away from my homeland.”*

The participants express that respect is an important aspect of Sudanese cultural heritage that is to be maintained. The participants express concern about how the children in Southwestern Pennsylvania speak to adults with little or no respect. The participants observe that there is a harsh manner of treatment between youth, and they give no regard for themselves or older adults. Concern about the loss of respect surfaces and is evident in the responses of **Participant 6**: *“In Sudan we have tribal/ethnic rulers that we follow. Here we have individual control. In Sudan one respects and follows rulers not to bring shame on the family. I miss the respect of my culture.”* One of the participants emphasizes that in their culture integrity is considered as recognizable a trait as their ethnicity. The participant notes the importance of upbringing like his that instructed the youth in these important customs to enculturate them in the Sudanese ways to respect themselves and others with honorable behaviors. **Participant 12**

characterizes the tradition this way: *“Dinka integrity and Dinka identity are valued customs. In Sudanese culture younger people give respect to seniors. Younger people will not participate in criminal activities. Younger people must maintain respect so that there is no shame to family.”*

The participants that are parents are intent to limit the less than positive influence from other youth on their children. They express a firm conviction to teach their children in the way of their heritage, as they were brought up – with much respect. There is recognition that the children have a much faster period of adjustment. Loss and isolation resulting from forced migration have a role in the study participants’ attitude and acculturative mode in resettlement.

B. TRANSITION:

The Sudanese mode of acculturation is expressed in the themes that emerge from their responses to interview questions regarding maintenance of cultural heritage and perceptions concerning meeting the existing residents and building relationships. Consistent with the literature, this section, entitled ‘Transition,’ encompasses the changes that the refugees experience moving from forced migration to third country resettlement starting with this discussion on the modes of acculturation.

4.1.4.3 Participant Reflections: Indicators of Acculturation Patterns

The researcher bases the participants’ acculturation mode on their responses to the threshold questions of the Berry (2001) bi-dimensional model. In every case the Sudanese acculturative attitude is overwhelmingly situated in an integrative intercultural contact space that considers it of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics yet also considers it of value to have relationship with others in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Refer to Figure 2, Berry’s (2001)

Varieties of Intercultural Strategies in Immigrant Groups and in the Receiving Society for this model. In response to interview questions used to discern the various levels of the Sudanese culture, artifacts at the surface, the next level of espoused values in their goals and philosophy, and the deepest layer of underlying assumptions, the seat of their values and basis for their actions (Schein, 1992), the following phrases emerge as themes: *strong desire to maintain cultural heritage while learning new culture and education is key to building new relationships.*

Participant 1 is sensitive to the acculturation process of one who has experienced loss and experiences unmet needs in resettlement. **Participant 1** notes: *“Refugees come with expectations that when unmet cause the mindset of the refugees to become temporary with a tendency toward separation versus an integrative mode.”*

Being somewhat concerned with the remarkably high percentage of integrative modes of acculturation for the interviewees, the researcher conferred with the resettlement agency and principle mutual assistance association, and reviewed the 25-point checklist of measures from the resettlement agency’s Initial Service Plans. The details provided by the indicators confirm the results from the Berry bi-dimensional model query. The data on participants’ results on the Service Plans regarding a positive attitude toward self-sufficiency, development of required skill sets, acquisition of selected cultural norms of the receiving society in addition to the desire to speak their languages of their homeland, intent to maintain cultural identity and characteristics as well as consideration of the value to maintain a relationship with other groups, further substantiate the data collected from the interviews.

The pilot study responses and the main study results are in agreement with the acculturation mode results noted above. Some responses of participants from each group that express their bicultural interests are captured below.

Overall the Sudanese participants in the study are committed to learning as much about their new environment as possible, especially learning the English language. However maintaining their own cultural heritage and conversing in their homes and places of worship in their own languages is extremely important, especially to the parents for their children.

In response to the researcher's inquiries of "What customs are important to you that you miss from your homeland?" and "Why is it important to maintain your Sudanese customs?"

Participant 2 shares this response: *"Family is what I miss most. I will learn English because it's important to my life here, now, and will help me to help those still in Sudan. But my love for my family and my culture is always with me."* **Participant 4** responds: *"I miss my lovely country and my family. You must know English to talk to people here. You must use your language not to forget your culture, but there must be a balance."* **Participant 6** responds: *"Someone who does not know his roots is like grass in the river that goes where the wind and water take it."*

4.1.4.4 Participant Reflections on Meeting Neighbors and Building Relationships

Participants express the importance of learning the culture in their environment of resettlement as an important factor in adjustment, but all agree that maintaining Sudanese cultural heritage is equally important. In response to the researcher's interview questions used to establish patterns of social contact, several of the following themes emerge when the participants describe how the formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences and settings help them to manage the changes in resettlement. Several thematic categories emerge that describe the intergroup relationships and unconventional learning opportunities which lead to new learning, new relationships, and opportunities for the Sudanese to exchange culture and celebrate their own cultural heritage such as: *education is critical for learning new culture; time, talking together*

and enjoying music with other Sudanese also very important; speak my language at home; speak English at work, school, and at meetings and sometimes at church; children must learn language of homeland and about our culture (those participants with children).

A significant finding in the study is the placement of the Sudanese refugees by the resettlement agency. The composition of the receiving community designated by the resettlement agency is unusual. The resettlement community in which the Sudanese have been placed presents the ultimate in the intergroup relations aspect described by Berry (1991, 2001) of the acculturation experience. The Sudanese, unlike some other refugee populations that had other cohorts of refugees resettled earlier in the United States, did not have an ethnic enclave or supportive community of other Sudanese refugees already established in neighborhoods in which they could also locate. But in this unlikely non-gateway metropolitan area of Southwestern Pennsylvania a unique resettlement community has developed. Through an interesting relationship between a resettlement agency contact and a real estate manager, favorable, safe, and affordable housing for new refugee arrivals became available (Potter, 2002). What was described as a ‘cottage industry in refugee resettlement’ (Potter, 2002) developed to provide housing in the suburban community in Southwestern Pennsylvania to over 30 different refugee newcomers according to the resettlement agency case manager. In response to the growth in refugee families in the borough and recognition that it would take a community effort to assist the students and their families with adjustment in the new school and surrounding community, the school district initiated a collaborative effort, Project Freedom: Celebrating Learning⁸, which consists of various individuals, agencies, organizations, businesses, and religious congregations. The Department of Education Program Coordinator, Division of Student Services and Migrant

⁸ Pseudonym for the local collaborative association

Education - Bureau of Community and Student Services, in attendance at the summer meeting at which the researcher also attended, comments on the unique nature of the resettlement community and the local collaborative program. This program has received awards and has been recommended as a model for illustrating the successful partnership of educators, residents, businesses, and religious congregations with refugees and the resettlement agency. Project Freedom: Celebrating Learning, a local 'Collaborative' association is fully engaged in its commitment to facilitating the resettlement of the Sudanese refugees. It is clear in the program results presented, the milestones acknowledged by the refugee family representatives, and the awards received that collaboration is the essential component to blend the variety of contacts and contexts of formal, non-formal, and informal education opportunities and experiences toward the adjustment of the Sudanese and other refugee family members.

Schools, formal and non-formal classes, workplace, and place of worship emerge as places for intercultural contact or interaction. In response to the researcher's inquiry of "How has formal and non-formal education helped in adjustment in building relationships, with others from Sudan, with neighbors, with members of your place of worship, with dating?" the following comments illustrate the dynamics of their acculturation process: **Mrs. Participant 10:** *"It is important to get to know this culture but it is also important for me to keep my own culture. Culture is discipline for behavior expectations. It is important to teach the children who they are and where they are from."* **Participant 8:** *"It was difficult at first because I didn't know anyone here. For two months didn't go to church. Going to church was helpful in meeting others to build relationships by going to eat together after church. There is time for talking and learning about each other. Now I know many people from going to work, school, and met in the community."* **Mrs. Participant 5:** *"It is important for my children to grow up Christian and that they have a*

good education to do well in this country. Our faith in God has brought us this far.”

Participant 14: *“Working also offers time for interacting, but church offers time for meeting and visiting with Sudanese and others from Southwestern Pennsylvania.”* **Participant 13** has

recently achieved an adjustment indicator, based on the resettlement agency indicators. He and his family have moved to another community in proximity to the resettlement community. His responses are relative to learning experiences and building relationships within the context of the worship experience: *“Church is very important. My children are the only two Black youth in their classes but that’s OK. Everyone is learning and learning about each other.”* **Mrs.**

Participant 5: *“I am getting to know neighbors through my children. But my language is hard. It takes a while with having to repeat what I say to the neighbors, but they try to understand me and I try to understand them. It is frustrating but we are working it out.”* **Mrs. Participant 7:**

“There are two things about meeting my neighbors and building relationships; Sudanese here have problems with Sudanese from North Sudan. But when they are here they are all from Sudan and are family. It is surprising that here the enemies can get along.” This participant adds her perceptions on the unique nature of the resettlement neighborhood. **Mrs. Participant 7:**

“When I came here I thought that we would live in different areas with people here. But we live in Pleasantville⁹. All of the people from Russia, Bosnia, Liberia, Sudan . . . live in this neighborhood. There are a lot of refugees in Pleasantville. Now we have another community to learn, the refugee community and the Southwestern Pennsylvania community. But this contact here is important because now this is my home.” **Participant 12:** *“The neighborhood is a good area but sometimes there is confusion since the neighborhood has many different refugees. It is great area for nationalities and is good to learn about other areas of Africa too.”*

⁹ Pseudonym for Resettlement Neighborhood

In consideration of the fact that the married men and women that participated in the study are married to Sudanese men and women, in raising the issue of dating as a mechanism for intercultural contact and building relationships, the researcher inquired about the possibility for a Sudanese man or woman to marry someone other than a Sudanese man or woman. Two of the women conveyed that they would have considered dating non-Sudanese men but they did not date non-Sudanese men and they did marry Sudanese men. Two of the men expressed willingness to consider marriage with women other than Sudanese having dated women that were not Sudanese since resettlement in one case and during migration. These men, however, did marry Sudanese women. Two responses are captured from one woman participant and one male participant. **Mrs. Participant 7:** *“I am not limited to Sudanese only. But I am happy to be married to my husband. I am looking forward to him joining me, to make a family here.”* **Participant 8:** *“In the past I dated someone from Southwestern Pennsylvania and had a good understanding. But I am not married.”*

The Sudanese Community Organization

The participants observe the importance of the Sudanese Community in Southwestern Pennsylvania. This organization has other chapters in other parts of the country that the participants note. The president of the Sudanese Community in Southwestern Pennsylvania shares valuable insights about the Sudanese Community Organization that explains how the participants in the study are affected. The Sudanese Community has 150 members in this area. There are activities that are planned for the Sudanese to foster cohesion and to support the adjustment of the members. The president explains the involvement of the Sudanese community in resettlement as follows: **President Sudanese Community:** *“The resettlement agency tells the Sudanese Community when a new person/refugee from Sudan is coming into the area. An*

individual Sudanese Community member would be assigned to that newcomer. The person assigned would visit or would ask them to come and visit. The person from the Sudanese Community would take the newcomer to the ESL Class and be involved in the workshop. The Sudanese Community sees its role as the physical, emotional, and mental strength for the new Sudanese arrivals. The Sudanese Community supports the new arrival through the adjustment experience.” One of the participants explains how the Sudanese Community Organization contributed to his resettlement experience. **Participant 12:** *“I can meet with people from Sudan from Southwestern Pennsylvania and from the Erie County area at the Sudanese fellowship. There is Dinka music and dancing. This organization links with other organizations, campuses, and churches to help people still in Sudan to fight malaria and other issues important to Sudanese.”*

4.1.4.5 Participant Reflections on Goals and Needs in Adjustment

Participants’ high regard for education in their homeland carries over to their resettlement experience. Study participants view education as a number-one priority. *Education is the principle goal and greatest thing desired and education especially learning the English language is key to fit into Southwestern Pennsylvania* emerge as themes reflected in the participants’ comments below.

The participants share their goals for resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania and describe the one thing that they desire to achieve in Southwestern Pennsylvania in the following responses. It is important to note that the responses of those participants from the pilot study and the actual study are in full agreement on the themes that emerge. **Participant 1:** *“English is the way to fit into this country. And there are so many things to learn to fit in U.S. (e.g., eating habits, way of life, many cultures of U.S. citizens).”* **Participant 2:** *“The one thing for me is*

school! Before I knew no English, American English, now I can do some things by myself.”

Participant 3: *“For me, the one thing is my education, even my children. The hope that I have to go to school and have English classes. In my age, education doesn’t mean whatever you are old. At my age, I still have time and I can manage. My education is very important.”* **Mrs.**

Participant 5: *“A good education for my children is what is important in my heart. That is good for me.”*

Whether their perception is to use the education from their formal, non-formal, or informal settings in the third country of resettlement or back in Sudan, education is a key facilitator as noted in these responses. **Participant 6:** *“Education is the most important thing to me. Because everything is connected to your education. I want to get all the education that I can. I want to go back to Sudan and help others. ”* **Mrs. Participant 7:** *“I want to have a close-knit community again, see my family. Education has made a difference for me even though I cannot do all of the things that I want to do.”* **Participant 12:** *“Education is the key to adjustment. I would tell any newcomer to understand the language first and be able to communicate with people to get friends here. My goal is to continue my education and get B.S. degree at the University and then go back to work in government in the new nation of Sudan.”*

4.1.4.6 Participant Reflections on Education - Influencing and Overcoming Obstacles to Adjustment

The participants view education as the main pathway to restore important values lost in forced migration. Participants also view education as a means to overcome institutional barriers from service providers. The participants share insights into how the formal, non-formal, and informal

education experiences serve as coping mechanisms for navigating the various service system requirements and the multitude of documents required.

The pathway to restoration is described in terms of the following thematic categories that emerge from the interview questions on their pre-migration and education experiences in resettlement: *education is the pathway to restoration and key to safety and security for family in resettlement; education is the key to accessing critical information paperwork to enable use of medical, transportation, and communities services; education is key to driver's license, applying for citizenship, and home ownership.*

Education is described as a key factor to assist in securing important documents (e.g., identification – social security (I-94), driver's license, housing paperwork, health and human services, medical, transportation, immigration/resettlement policy documents), and communicating for children or family with school district reflect in comments from the participants. **Mrs. Participant 10:** *"At first I could only go to grocery store and doctor with case worker from Catholic Charities or Jewish Family and Children Services but now can go on my own. I take ESL classes 3-4 times per week. I have language skills for the bus and store I need but I still practice with others from neighborhood at the Family Learning Center. The Center showed me how to get certain services in the mail."* **Participant 8:** *"My Catholic Charities Case Worker helped me to find job, helped with my apartment and the lease. Since living in the apartment, I understand the lease better. I took language training classes with GLCLC at the Family Learning Center."* **Participant 3:** *"I came to special classes at AJAPO to learn about living in Southwestern Pennsylvania. I learned about the local laws for me and what social security means. Social security is the way that someone in another state can connect what you have done in another state or when you lived somewhere else. It is the way to get the medical*

services for me and my family when I need them.” **Mrs. Participant 9:** *“The Family Learning Center Women’s Circles and the language training and special classes helped with understanding the lease and getting medical services for the children. The church brings school supplies to the Family Learning Center and has special programs for the children that they can attend while I am at the Women’s Circles classes.”* **Participant 1:** *“Education is not only the key to a refugee’s way of absorbing information needed to live in new environment but it is the key to accepting change which is pivotal to adjustment.”* **Participant 13:** *“My language has helped. People can understand me. I have helped others to obtain their documents too.”* **Participant 6:** *“When I went to college I came into contact with more intellectual and good people that were very helpful to me and told me about importance of hard work and that it was possible for me to be what I wanted to be based on the education that I could get!! I met teachers and scientists who were very encouraging to me because I was a good student and they told me that I could have a future!”* **Participant 14:** *“Education has eased my communication with those in the community here already. If you are able to express yourself, then you can get around, talk with people, get to know them, and they can get to know you.”*

C. TRADE OFFS:

4.1.4.7 Participant Reflections on How Formal, Non-formal, and Informal Education Have Affected Occupational Adjustment

This particular area of occupational adjustment is one of the most researched areas for immigrant and refugee adjustment because of the United States’ requirement for accelerated job placement to reduce the financial burden of supporting refugees from the states and local affiliates

partnering with the resettlement agency. Consistent with the previous sections, headings from the literature review are used to organize the thematic categories related to participant responses in the areas of formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences that provide pathways where refugees may shape their responses or 'Trade Offs' to mechanisms that they employ to cope with the challenges of adjustment that they face in occupational adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Some of the themes that emerge from the discussion of the interview questions on the experience of finding a job, keeping the job, and the resultant employee-related responsibilities in resettlement included: *Education especially speaking English is a 'must' for getting a job- 'No English' no work!; education is important for job interview and working with other people already employees; improving speaking English is important for on job training; learning English/language training and funding to resettlement agency are connected; important link between English language training and health care services.*

Education, especially language, is viewed as critical for employment opportunities. The resettlement agency assists Sudanese refugees as part of their early interventions in almost every instance to secure employment.

There are integration policies that consist of approaches and measures adopted by state agencies to help immigrants integrate within the host society. These measures include programs that fund education for the purpose of employment preparation. The policies are the roadmap for the implementation of the federal immigration policy through the state agencies that are articulated to the refugees on the local level. Consistent with the research of Bourhis et al. (1997), "Such policies often reflect the ideological orientation of the economically, demographically, and politically dominant group of the host society in question" (p. 372).

The Pennsylvania Refugee Resettlement Program Structure outlines the specific departmental breakdown for funding allocations as follows:

Program Funding:

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, ORR

Implementation: PA Bureau of Social Services

State Refugee Coordinator – Secretary of Welfare – Department of Public Welfare

- Cash and Medical Assistance Programs administered by Office of Income Maintenance
- The Bureau of Employment and Training in the Office of Income Maintenance

Program Components:

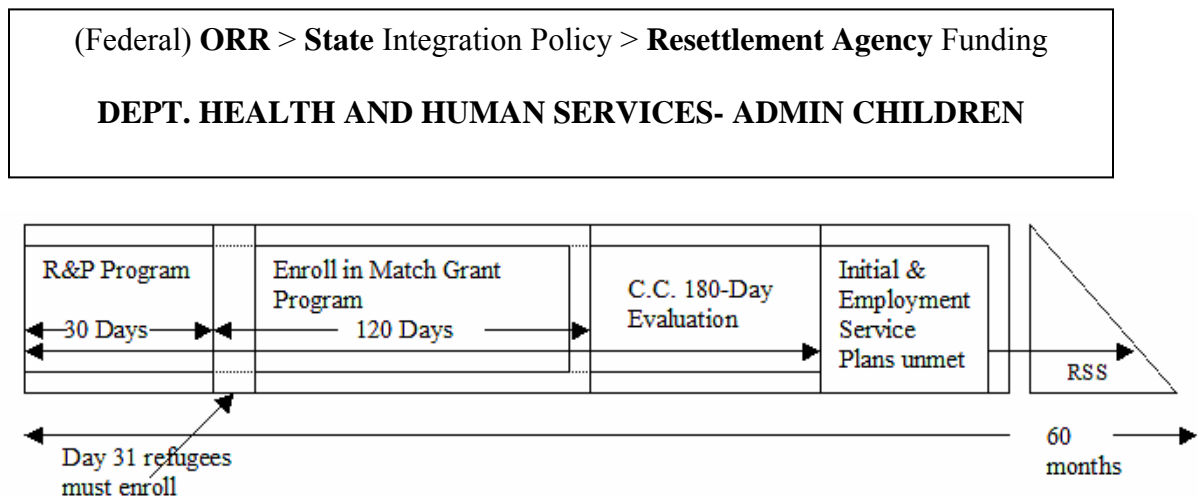
- Delivery of Employment
- Education
- Aging and Allied Human Services

As stated earlier the accepted national resettlement program strategy favors rapid or early employment, thus most policy initiatives are driven to achieve that objective. As the United States has flexed its state integration policy of an assimilationist ideological orientation toward a civic ideological orientation to adapt to the newer refugees/immigrants resistant to relinquishing their cultural heritage in resettlement, little funding to support education or language training initiatives for any purposes not related toward employment or for those reviewed as immediately unemployable due to childcare or health reasons is available.

The ORR has a State Formula for Social Services Allocations for funding the resettlement agency for refugee resettlement services to realize its chief objective, economic self-sufficiency and social adjustment within the shortest time possible following arrival in the United States. This funding is allocated with very specific time guidelines. The timelines and

guidelines that restrict funding for non-employment related training present barriers to adjustment. The following figure is a breakdown of the coordination among the federal, state, and local government services. The figure below is the researcher's representation of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's Refugee Resettlement Program or how the federal government immigration policy is articulated through the local state integration policy.

Figure 9 *Author's Representation of Coordination of Federal, State, and Local Integration Services*



Funding may not be used for:

- Long term training programs
- Vocational training > 1 year
- Educational training not leading to employment within one year
- Not available to refugees in U.S. more than five years or 60 months (except for citizenship)

Program funding for:

- Identifying
 - Transporting
 - Processing
 - Receiving refugees
- Funding for first 30-90 days state funding for refugees may be supplemented by HHS funds for Matching Grant for first 30-90 days. Funds have different purposes and different/separate financial reporting, however at caseworker/refugee level, there can be confusion on the differences between the two pots of money.

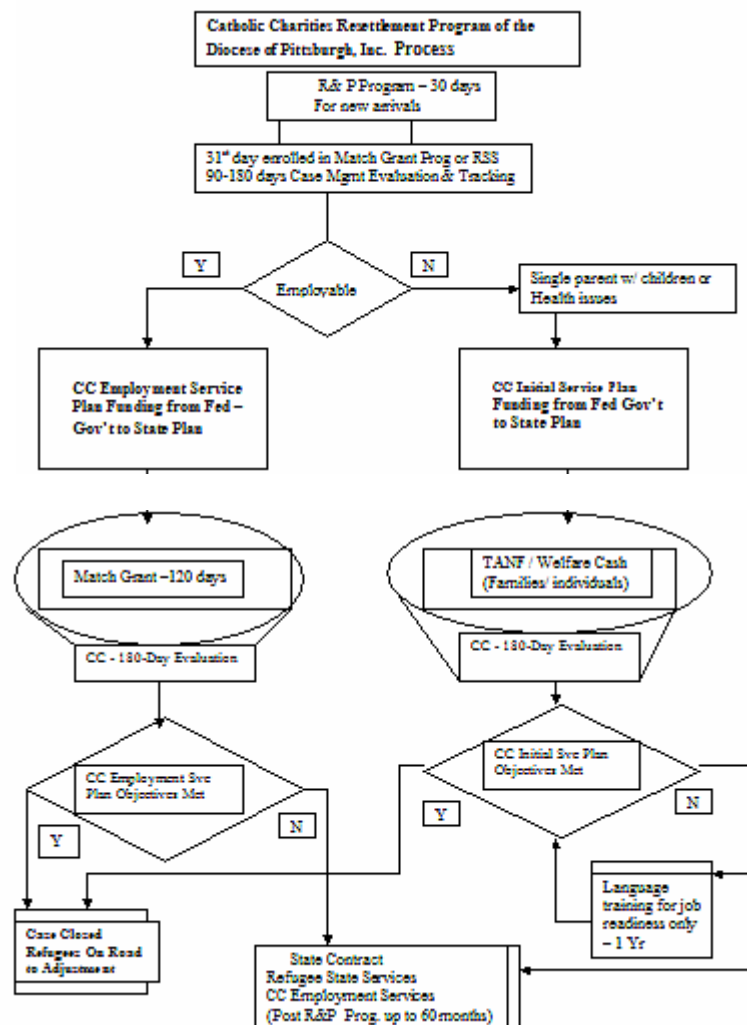
Source: Adapted from Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) Formula Grant Programs:
<http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/programs/orrfgp.htm>.

Funding may not be used for long-term training programs such as vocational training for more than one year, or educational programs not leading to employment within one year.

Services may not be provided to refugees who have been in the United States for more than 60 months except for citizenship and naturalization preparation-related services. The resettlement agency and those affiliates that the agency uses for resettlement services are governed by this state integration policy, so education, specifically English language training, an integral program component that is used to increase the probability for greater success with the service plan indicators, employment application process, and job retention has limited access by refugees unless employment related.

The researcher represented the resettlement agency program structure in place with the refugees resettled in SWPA in this study in the figure below:

Figure 10 *Author's Representation of Resettlement Agency Program Enacting State Integration Policy*



Language training as a contingency became a ‘trade off’ with sociocultural and policy components of influence on adjustment. Some illustrative responses follow: **Participant 1:** *“English Second Language training is a requirement to success in workplace and public place adaptation in U.S.”* **Participant 4:** *“English is important to living and to the job. If you talk and people don’t understand you that’s discouraging.”* **Participant 6:** *“My education has helped me to get employment that has provided medical services when needed and health insurance.”* **Participant 13:** *“My education helped me to seek out my own employment using my abilities to*

complete the application and interview successfully. I would advise a newcomer that the most important preparation for employment in Southwestern Pennsylvania is to learn how to speak American English versus British English. British English is different. The language is the key.”

Participant 8: *“Education here from the resettlement agency and GLCLC helped me to get a job. I used to know everything when I went to work in Kenya. Classes at AJAPO helped me to complete my job application and how to learn how to get along with other workers on the job.”*

4.1.5 Participant Reflections on Discrimination, Education, and Occupational

Adjustment

Employment Issues:

In response to the question, “What does discrimination mean to you? Have you ever witnessed discrimination on your job?” in almost all of the responses none of the participants have experienced discrimination in the workplace or in their community. However, three respondents provide interesting accounts of their experiences: **Participant 6:** *“I never seen that so far. But when I first came here there was someone who said you real Black and tried to rub my arm to see if skin color would rub off. I have a friend who was in a Master’s Program that could not get the job that someone else with the same qualifications got. So he had a discrimination problem from employer.”* **Participant 8:** *“I know of a person whose salary was held back due to racial reasons. There was a White American boss at work who had a Sudanese man who after six to seven months that didn’t receive insurance or coverage for education (reimbursement) although that was a part of their benefits. The manager tried to change the terms of the agreement. The Sudanese worker had to threaten to go to court.”* **Mrs. Participant 7:** *“At my job there is a woman at the front desk that I saw everyday and she would not speak to me as if I am invisible.*

She would speak to other workers when I am there but she would not speak to me. I do not care, I have my God, if you say hi for me I will say hi for you. I asked her why she did not speak to me one day. And she said that she spoke to me. From then to now she is speak to me when I pass the front desk.”

4.1.6 Participant Reflections on Education and Impediments to Adjustment

The Issue of Underemployment:

Participants express concerns about challenges associated with improving employment opportunities from entry-level positions to those positions more closely aligned with formal, non-formal, and informal training received in resettlement. **Mrs. Participant 7:** *“All of the goals and skills I had in Sudan didn’t help me here. I could only be a housekeeper. If I finish my school here it will take one to three more years. I was in medical school at home and was working but the war and strife interrupted my life. My goals have turned to survival and safety.”*

Participant 13: *“Four days after arrival in the destination of resettlement, I had obtained employment that I interviewed for in manufacturing. Prior to resettlement I had worked in Sudan for a company based in Europe until political and religious pressure forced me to leave the country. Unplanned departure resulted in lack of documentation of my advanced degree work at the University; so only a lower level position in the banking industry was accessible. Although having consistent superior performance ratings, my movement has been slow. The biggest obstacle identified has been my accent when speaking English. A customer requested another person to assist them that did not speak Spanish! I don’t speak Spanish.”* **Participant 14:** *“Resettlement Agency helps Sudanese get first job. My employment has included security guard and corrections officer. I sought out and interviewed to get the job I have now for a company as*

a designer but I am still looking and interviewing for work in the field of my advanced degrees (Master's) Business Administration. Although able to read and write English like a native of Southwestern Pennsylvania the only obstacle identified has been my accent when speaking English.” **Participant 12:** *“I had three years at CCAC but I could not access to get job downtown. My employment is in area not that near my home. I used my knowledge to get job, to apply and interview on my own. There are other Sudanese where I work too.”*

4.1.7 Formal, Non formal, and Informal Education Experiences Available to Sudanese Refugees

The researcher attended classes provided for the refugees in resettlement in each category of acculturation training – formal, non-formal, and informal classes:

- English Language training classes (ESL/ESOL) an enrollment and attendance requirement of the resettlement agency Initial Service Plan, Employment Plan, and ORR guidelines for funding for United States Resettlement Program at state level;
- Classes to learn how to use banks and credit important to adjustment;
- Mutual Assistance Association (AJAPO) provided classes in effective use of identification (I-94) banks and managing credit important –financial literacy for adjustment, citizenship, driver’s license;
- Non-profit non government organization (GLCLC) resettlement partner designed lesson plans to improve language skills. Two creative non-formal and informal education opportunities involve moving the classroom experience to the library.
 - LearnBus – is held one evening per week at the library and the refugees learn how to select and use reading and language tools
 - Book Buddies – is held on alternate Wednesdays of the LearnBus where refugees attend the Readers’ Theatre to engage in acting out stories of interest
 - Other lessons are designed for understanding leases and utilities important for adjustment;
- Collaboration between the school district and businesses in the community include conducting activities and events to familiarize Sudanese with local government laws and community services available; and
- Community Center, resettlement partners and religious congregation partner conduct activities to couple cultural exchange opportunities with practical services (e.g., food pantry, school supplies for children, and clothing distribution).

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this qualitative study is to examine the broad acculturation experience of Sudanese refugees and how they perceive that formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences provide pathways for the social, political, and economic influences of their adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Miyares (1997) notes, “Acculturation is a process by which immigrants or refugees learn to operate in the dominant culture of their host community by incorporating the new values, language, and modes of behavior into their personal culture” (p. 215).

Acculturation theory that guides the research is Berry’s (2001) framework for understanding the psychology of immigration linking acculturation and intergroup relations to explain how individuals achieve a fit between themselves and a new cultural environment. Bourhis et al.’s (1997) research adds support to the framework by linking the policy components of immigration with the acculturation orientations.

Berry defines adjustment as one strategy of adapting to a new environment. Adaptation, frequently interchanged with acculturation, refers to managing the process of acculturation (Berry, 1991). Adjustment is further defined by Berry (1991) as “changes in the organism in a direction that reduces the conflict between the two cultures” (p. 23). It is widely accepted that as

the distance between the cultures of ethnic minority groups and the cultural center varies, so varies the effects of acculturation and the accompanying stresses and disorientation (Mohamed, 2001).

Acculturation theory informs the study to explain the intersection of acculturation attitudes of the refugees and multicultural ideology of the receiving community expressed through maintenance or disregard of cultural heritage by the Sudanese refugees and accommodation or rejection by the receiving society. The formal and non formal education opportunities serve as pathways to bridge the spheres of political, economic, and social influences that shape the acculturation experience and enable the refugees to cross boundaries of cultural differences to navigate the daily struggles of resettlement. To that end, the following research questions guide the study:

1. What (personal, professional, financial, and socio-economic) needs and goals are perceived as important by Sudanese refugees in their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
2. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal and non-formal education experience has influenced their adjustment in Southwestern PA?
3. How do these Sudanese refugees perceive that their formal/non-formal education has affected their occupational adjustment in Southwestern PA?

In this chapter the researcher summarizes the findings and conclusions of the Sudanese refugees in a fashion that demonstrates whether their experiences and perceptions of how their education experience bridge the influences of adjustment are aligned or not aligned with the literature. This approach closes the loop of the thematic analysis process resulting in propositions of the Sudanese experience that contribute to the literature or are implications for resettlement policy considerations or further research.

The adjustment of the Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania began prior to their forced migration experience with the home-related factors of their culture that were strongly biased towards higher education. Their pre-migration lives of respect for family, education, and tradition were designed to groom them to be future leaders in their society. However, not even the extremely cruel conditions and the crisis of the events in their homeland that alienated them to a reactive fate forced displacement could remove their deeply embedded cultural heritage and identity. As noted earlier the Sudanese indigenous experience is not homogenous. Of the over 400 different ethnic groups in Sudan eight are represented in this study. Ethnicities of the study participants included Dinka, Zande, Didinka, Avokaya, Moru, Baria, Baka, and Latuka. The largest ethnic group represented among the study participants was the Dinka ethnic group. The Dinka ethnic group is also the largest ethnic group in Southwestern Pennsylvania due to the number of those described as ‘Lost Boys’ from the Dinka tribe that are now resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Having survived loss of family, internal displacement, violence during forced migration, refugee camp, and resettlement to a distant location not of their choosing, the Sudanese refugees have demonstrated outstanding physical stamina, spiritual stability, and an extraordinary positive outlook.

Key Conclusions:

1. The Sudanese refugee participants identify acquiring education for themselves, and if applicable for their children, as the number-one need and goal. The participants of this study carry their strong motivation to attain education from their culture into resettlement. Classes to continue their interrupted pre-baccalaureate education and any classes toward advanced degrees are a priority in a schedule already in some cases filled with more than one job. They perceive education as the most important adjustment

objective as well as facilitative strategy for restoration of normalcy in resettlement and to assist those still oppressed in Sudan. Two men out of four in the pilot study have advanced degrees. Five out of six men and one of four women in the main study have advanced degrees. Four of the participants completed their secondary education and advanced degrees in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Two of the participants achieved advanced degrees in Sudan and Europe and were employed prior to resettlement. One of the participants had a small business in Sudan.

2. Employing the Kunz (1973, 1981) refugee categorization and form of displacement guide, the Sudanese can be described as events-alienated, reactive fate refugees, or those who due to intolerable events reluctantly but suddenly with little preparation escaped as individuals or in groups on foot and or when possible by plane. Being events-alienated, as opposed to majority-identified with the country of origin, enables them to build on their ethnocultural minority background to regroup after settlement and form communities with emphasis on friendship, customs, self-help, and ethnic identity.
3. Remarkably after their extreme forced migration experiences, the Sudanese refugee participants overwhelmingly are aligned with the integrative acculturation orientation as is indicated on the summary of participant demographic information. Based on responses to the Berry Bi-Dimensional Model threshold questions of “Is it considered of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?” and “Is it considered of value to maintain relationships with other groups?” the Sudanese refugee participants’ responses to the interview questions on Sudanese customs and traditions and inquiries to establish patterns of social contact affecting acculturation orientation indicate their interest in both maintaining their original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups.

That response provides for maintaining some degree of cultural integrity, while as members of an ethnocultural group, participating as an integral part of the larger receiving society.

4. The Sudanese refugee participants indicate when asked that discrimination is understood but is not generally their experience. Two of the respondents' responses where they witnessed discrimination are captured in the previous chapters. With respect to their acculturation orientation recognizing that any ethnocultural group's decision for intergroup relations with the larger receiving community is not its decision alone but is impacted by the willingness of the receiving society, especially in the case of a visible minority, to be received.
5. The responses from the Sudanese refugee participants indicate that nine out of 10 participants (men and women) are employed. In addition in the pilot study, four out of four Sudanese refugee participants are also employed. It is noteworthy that the refugee resettlement program of the Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Inc is compliant with the United States resettlement program stated primary goal; refugee self-sufficiency, early employment, and integration into the host community. For the male participants in the main study the average number of months from registration with the resettlement agency to actual employment is approximately two months, for the women the time frame is an extended 9.7 months because of extenuating circumstances with child care and transportation issues. In the pilot study the average number of months from registration with the resettlement agency to actual employment is 2.8 months. According to the resettlement agency responsible for the Initial Service – Employment Plan the significant difference with the Sudanese refugees versus other refugee populations

recently resettled is their pre-migration education competency. That does not mean that there are no occupation-related issues.

6. The Sudanese refugee participants perceive that education has made a significant difference in their ability to secure initial employment but are disillusioned with the lack of employment mobility, improved status, and/or greater employment opportunities more closely matched to their training and education. This is of particular concern to the Sudanese refugee participants that have completed their secondary, baccalaureate, and master's programs in the United States. This is an area that is possibly an indicator of discrimination. The responses from the participants in the study indicate that the employers and even customers with whom they have interfaced at their places of employment indicate that it is a language issue, primarily a speaking accent issue that presents the problem. Recognizing that the adjustment in resettlement is a phenomenon that is dependent on the mutual changes seated in the dynamic continuum of acculturation, acculturation is also affected by state integration and immigration policies in place that reflect the ideological orientation of the economically, demographically, and politically dominant group of the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997).
7. The Sudanese do not perceive that the formal, non-formal, and/or informal education programs/classes or activities are sites of inequalities. They do not indicate that there is any reason to interpret the formal language training conducted by the non-profit organization, resettlement agency partner, or the civic training or leadership training conducted by the mutual assistance association resettlement agency partner as intentionally inadequate for their resettlement needs. The Sudanese refugees' pre-migration education experience carries their high regard for education into resettlement.

They maintain a positive attitude toward the education and related experiences that foster their adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

5.2 DISCUSSION

The study uses qualitative methodology to explore the acculturation experiences of fourteen Sudanese refugees (four pilot study participants and 10 main study participants) in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania and how their formal and non-formal education experiences enabled them to cross the boundaries of cultural differences and navigate the difficult struggles of daily life.

5.2.1 The Forced Migration Effect

The participants in this study are refugees, not immigrants that voluntarily migrated from their homeland to Southwestern Pennsylvania. Kunz (1973) posits that the refugees' experiences pre- and post-flight have significant impact on resettlement. Kunz considers the refugees' orientation or social relationship to their country of origin combined with their attitude to displacement, form of displacement, educational background, age, and composition of refugee waves as key predictors of resettlement outcomes.

The Sudanese refugee participants in this study may be described in terms of the Kunz research as an 'events-alienated' - 'reactive fate group' of active men and women individual and group escapees whose displacement took the form of acute refugee movement. All of the participants in the study initially identify with their nation and would have stayed in their

homeland, but because of events/actions of aggression and persecution against them by the government or factions that were not deterred by the prevailing authorities have little hope of return until the issues are completely resolved.

Of the categories of forced migrants that Kunz researched, ‘events-alienated’ refugees have a higher probability of success in resettlement. The resourcefulness required as a minority group or with minority interests in their homeland equipped them to adapt to the events that caused their forced migration and the capability to adapt to the many factors of the new environment in resettlement.

5.2.2 Pre-migration Education Experiences

Kunz advances that a strong bias toward higher education or value for education is a useful home-related factor and positive predictor for adjustment in resettlement. The Sudanese refugee participants demonstrate a strong bias toward higher education. The pilot study participants average approximately 11.5 years of pre-migration education. The main study participants average approximately 9.5 years of pre-migration education. All but one of the participants demonstrates mastery in reading and writing the language of their homeland and English. Each participant in the main study speaks a minimum of three languages – English is included even if it is ‘British English.’ The Sudanese refugee participants in this study align with the Kunz (1973, 1981) typology for their home-related factors, which accurately characterizes their educational background as *strongly biased towards higher education* (Kunz, 1973, 1981).

Kunz concludes that the highly educated have the capacity to remain more impervious to assimilationist pressures than less educated compatriots (Kunz, 1981). Kunz (1981) advances the

utility of education to forecast the predictive outcome for refugee resettlement in adjustment (Kunz, 1981).

5.2.3 Acculturation Orientation

Acculturation is defined in terms of the cultural change resulting from continuous, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). As discussed above in the Berry (1980, 2001) bi-dimensional and orthogonal models, the acculturation patterns of an ethnocultural minority group, such as the Sudanese, can present in one or more combinations of four forms: assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization.

The Sudanese overwhelmingly presented in the integrative mode of acculturation. When there is interest in both maintaining one's original culture and engaging in daily interactions with other groups, integration is the option (Berry, 2001). In an integrative acculturation mode there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time the refugees or immigrants seek, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger receiving society. This integrative acculturation mode positions the Sudanese refugees to be open to new cultural experiences and yet preserve and enjoy treasured Sudanese traditions in their own homes and with others in the community.

5.2.4 Education - Key to Achieve Needs and Goals in Resettlement

The Sudanese identify education as the number-one priority to achieve their personal, professional, financial, and economic needs and goals in resettlement. The participants view education as the pathway to restoration from the loss experienced from their forced migration.

Refugees have an identity, a past, a history, and a cultural heritage that has been stripped from them (LaCroix, 2004). Living among established residents is a resettlement strategy that satisfies the newcomers' desires to restore losses of family, work, and religion (Bach, 1993). The Sudanese refugees perceive education as both the adjustment objective and the coping strategy in resettlement. Some of the adjustment objectives that Sudanese refugees perceive education would facilitate include:

- Effective communication through language training;
- Safety and security for family in new country;
- Key to securing services (medical, transportation, housing); and
- Key to securing key adjustment indicators.

This perception of the Sudanese refugee participants is in line with the literature that reveals that education facilitates successful adjustment of refugees contributing to their psychosocial well-being (Newland, 2002; Sinclair, 2001; Wilkinson, 2002; McBrien, 2005).

5.2.5 Education to Overcome Obstacles to Adjustment

The Sudanese perceive that certain symbols of adjustment are also key for the free movement in the physical environment of resettlement. Non-formal, informal, and formal education experiences needed to access these resettlement tools were secured through the resettlement agency or the key mutual assistance association. The programs of the mutual assistance association are outlined below. These resettlement tools that are markers of adjustment are consistent with literature and are also required as part of the resettlement agency's objectives of self-sufficiency.

- Understanding importance and use of Social Security (I-94 card initially);
- Securing a driver's license;
- Attaining citizenship; and
- Achieving home ownership.

To achieve these adjustment objectives a variety of formal, non-formal, and informal education opportunities were made available to the Sudanese refugees through a network of resettlement partners that consisted of the resettlement agency, the mutual assistance association, a non-profit organization specializing in language training, the family learning center also operating at the community center in the neighborhood, a local collaborative association operating from the school district for the community in which the Sudanese refugee participants reside, places of worship, and the local chapter of the Sudanese Community organization.

5.2.6 Resettlement Partners – Formal, Non-Formal, and Informal Education Opportunities

5.2.6.1 Resettlement Agency

Catholic Charities sponsored the Sudanese refugee resettlement experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Sudanese refugee participants' resettlement is not typical because Southwestern Pennsylvania is not typically considered a gateway city for refugee resettlement as is evidenced in the data analysis section on Southwestern Pennsylvania used to provide context for the study participants. The Southwestern Pennsylvania locale where this study is situated has even fewer documented refugees of African descent. The resettlement agency refugee service staff person states that unlike other recently resettled refugees most of the Sudanese refugees have English language capability. Although their English language training is 'British' English, this minimum language competency positions the Sudanese for faster employment and better interaction with residents in Southwestern Pennsylvania.

At the time of the research, male study participants have been in Southwestern Pennsylvania an average of six years and women study participants an average of three years in resettlement. When asked about their perception of the receiving society in Southwestern Pennsylvania the Sudanese refugees indicate, starting with the resettlement agency and their partners, that they were warmly welcomed. This perception of the Sudanese refugee participants in the study indicates that they are ahead of the resettlement adjustment curve according to theorists that describe this phase in terms of the years in resettlement as a period when the refugee has begun developing a new identity and status image, has completed a major phase of adjustment but is at a crossroads or possibly has had the realization that there is no way back, and is at the beginning of forming a new identity, values, attitudes, and sense of belonging (Valtonen, 1994; Joly, 1996; Vaynshtok, 2000).

The Sudanese recount many positive experiences upon arrival even though the resettlement policy 'clock' drove many required tasks. For example there is a 90-day window for the R&P Program for new arrivals but there is a 30-day minimum time in which to apply. Concurrent with that program qualification timeline is the need for registration for children in the local school system, if applicable. In addition to that task overlap is the resettlement agency funding determination for the Match Grant, which must be completed and utilized within a 120-day limit. The Sudanese refugees convey that the resettlement agency case managers were sensitive, patient, and helpful in working through those program requirements while assisting them in achieving the initial service plan objectives to qualify for program funding.

There is some sense of a paradox in the realization that it is widely accepted that acculturation occurs over months and years, and yet the critical first steps to position the refugees for adjustment occur quickly and have hard program deadlines.

One particular study participant is an illustration of where the federal government resettlement mandate as implemented through the state integration policy being executed at the local level acts as a deterrent in the Sudanese refugee adjustment process. This instance concurs with Bourhis et al. (1997) research that posits that the ideological orientation of the integration policies favors the economically, demographically, and politically dominant group of the host society as opposed to the non-dominant refugee attempting integration into the receiving society.

Mrs. Participant #5, as discussed in detail in the participant profile section of the preceding chapter, is married but until joined in resettlement by her husband, currently in a refugee camp, must function as a single mother. According to the program guidelines on day 31 when the decision on her enrollment into the Match Grant program is required, her employability, a key decision factor, is deemed negative because she has five children who are 10 years of age and younger. The result is that she is ineligible and is moved from the Employment Service Plan to the other track toward adjustment or self-sufficiency via the Initial Service Plan. Both Plans are valid, funded, and relevant to address needs if the refugee client is a single parent with children or has health-related issues that render them unemployable. The TANF program of financial assistance out of the Income Maintenance Office is funded as a means to bridge the refugee client until they have developed or satisfied program measures indicating that they are on the road to adjustment and can demonstrate self-sufficiency. After a period of 180-days an evaluation determines if the self sufficiency criteria has been met, if the refugee client is employed and can manage the day to day responsibilities of living in a new environment, and is proficient in the minimum tools required that when accompanied by a positive outlook prepare them to adjust to SWPA. Those refugee client cases that have secured employment and completed measures are closed; those that have satisfied the initial service plan objectives have

cases closed. Those not successful in achieving employment or satisfying the measures are reworked to determine areas of deficiencies, but if the refugee client is unable to satisfy the Plan(s) objectives they are defaulted to the State Refugee State Services Contract for up to 60 months.

In **Mrs. Participant #5's** instance highlighted here, the issues of meeting the demands of the schedules of four school-aged children, (e.g., daily parental duties, parent-teacher appointments, medical appointments, grocery shopping) present daunting logistical obstacles to achieving objectives, especially when one is performing these duties at the disadvantage of poor language skills to communicate personal and family needs and to interpret others' expectations that are affecting one's life and the lives of one's children. Compounding those issues is the problem of transportation for oneself and the infants that accompany one on a two-hour-per-way commute to attend to the appointments and to meet at the resettlement agency to receive assistance from those willing to help.

This situation is a description four years into resettlement for **Mrs. Participant #5**. **Mrs. Participant #5** made the long commute with children to English language training classes. When classes were moved closer she attended those that her children's schedule would permit. She secured various part-time employments. But four years into resettlement **Mrs. Participant #5** still relies on the older children to help with paying bills, to speak to the neighbors, to meet with the teachers, and secure temporary employment through resettlement agency partners willing to find positions that those with limited language skills can handle. It is not surprising that **Mrs. Participant #5** battles discouragement in the area of communication with community, school district, and various service providers.

The program guidelines prescribed her path or track to adjustment. The policy restricted her access to language training due to the linkage between language training for potential employment and her questionable employability associated with single parent duties. Factors of transportation or childcare that minimize access to English language skills training not related to employment impede adjustment. Lack of English language skills negatively impacts employability and self-sufficiency. In this example the state integration policy does not foster mechanisms that the resettlement agency may promote or advance toward the adjustment of an economically challenged or poor single parent (mother) in an urban receiving community.

In the situation of the Southeast Asian or Vietnamese refugees there were established communities of refugees that preceded the new arrivals. The established refugee communities could provide social supports to assist in extreme situations of need or challenging scenarios as described above. In this case, there are no preexisting Sudanese communities or enclaves on which to depend; however, there are several unique situations, described in the following sections that combine to facilitate the Sudanese adjustment process.

5.2.6.2 Key Resettlement Partner: Mutual Assistance Association (AJAPO)

In the Southwestern Pennsylvania locale a key resettlement partner that has facilitated the Sudanese adjustment process is the mutual assistance association AJAPO. AJAPO is the acronym that stands for Acculturation for Justice, Access, and Peace Outreach. No pseudonym was used for AJAPO because AJAPO provides services for Sudanese and other refugees. Therefore, identification of this particular resettlement partner does not endanger or expose the study participants. AJAPO uses a cross-section of non-formal and informal education strategies of community and leadership training seminars, acculturation training workshops, and/or

conferences to promote acculturation of African and Caribbean refugees and immigrants. In personal communication with the AJAPO executive director and staff member their objectives are reviewed with the researcher. AJAPO collaborates with resettlement agency partners to facilitate language and civic and leadership training for refugees within three to four months of their arrival in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Some of the civic training includes classes with descriptors of ‘what it meant to be a tenant of a complex,’ ‘what it meant to be a houseguest,’ ‘how to take care of property,’ and ‘how to interpret a lease.’ AJAPO, as a member of the larger or regional collaborative, referred to in this study as the ‘Livable City¹⁰’ Collaborative, has provided additional targeted assistance for refugees that may present acculturation difficulties or special employment situations. AJAPO provides non-formal and informal education in areas of goal setting, managing goals, and how to establish and manage credit. The researcher observed such an instance while in the AJAPO office, which is located at a place of worship frequently attended by most of the Sudanese refugees. The refugee that needed additional assistance had been in the resettlement community in excess of six months. He found employment closer to his home with a work schedule that better accommodated the school schedule of his young children but needed some documentation to be quickly processed to preserve his application with the prospective employer. AJAPO facilitated the request initially by electronic transmission of materials and then by physically accompanying the client to obtain the necessary documentation for subsequent use with the prospective employer. This instance is not a unique case but is representative of the type of mutual assistance services provided to refugees in the Southwestern Pennsylvania area. This mutual assistance association identifies issues relevant to the refugee community, examines the receiving society’s social and political systems that can be used to

¹⁰ Pseudonym for the specific region in Southwestern Pennsylvania in which study participants reside

address those issues, creates a network for sharing African and Afro-Caribbean experiences, and also provides a forum for understanding the challenges and mechanisms for overcoming challenges. These objectives and programs of AJAPO conform to the non-formal and informal educational practices outlined in the Moreland and Lovett (1997) typology for individual and collective development in issue-based education for housing, welfare, and employment rights.

5.2.6.3 Resettlement Community: Pleasantville¹¹

As noted in the previous chapter, the receiving community is a unique acculturation experience for the study participants because, unlike other communities in Southwestern Pennsylvania composed of long-time residents whose grandparents were immigrants, this resettlement neighborhood where the resettlement agency has placed the Sudanese refugee study participants is distinguished for its composition of a variety of newly-arrived individuals whose common experience is recent ‘forced migration’ from their homeland. A local newspaper writer describes the community as a “cultural greenhouse” (Potter, 2002). Interestingly the reporter notes that this global village is largely unknown to the Southwestern Pennsylvania residents because the suburban community is an unlikely setting and the resettlement settlers do not draw attention to themselves (Potter, 2002).

The resettlement agency has established an arrangement with the complex management so that space would be available for learning opportunities. The non-profit organization that partners with the resettlement agency for language training provides classes during the day and selected evenings. The Department of Health and Human Services Department of Public Welfare

¹¹ Pseudonym for the name of the residence of study participants and associated agencies or organizations providing services

through the County has established an arrangement with the complex to locate the Pleasantville Family Learning Center in a space adjoining the apartment designated for language training. These enhancements, locating providers and facilities for these formal, non-formal, and informal learning opportunities within the community for the Sudanese refugees, de-institutionalize the formal aspect of the language training in the non-traditional setting and endorse all forms of learning that occur even within the community setting (Dave, 1982; Reed & Loughran, 1984; Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Those aforementioned provisions to de-institutionalize the formal aspect of the language training increase the probability for faster adjustment in Southwestern Pennsylvania (Vaynshtok, 2001).

5.2.6.4 Local Collaborative Project Freedom: Celebrating Learning

The uniqueness of this collaborative is in the continued, consistent interest and participation of the variety of educators, businesses, religious congregations, community agencies, organizations, and individuals to ensure that the refugee students and their families are safe and secure in their new resettlement neighborhood and receiving community at large. Through this local collaborative, an overt plan to resist discrimination and provide access to learning resources is in place. Homework clubs, youth centers, summer recreation, and educational programs are established to promote and support continuous academic achievement beyond the formal classroom and community involvement to further the adjustment of the refugee families. These programs cover formal, non-formal, and informal education objectives concurrent with the research and typology of adult learning that Moreland and Lovett (1997) advance to provide support for disadvantaged groups or refugees.

Project Freedom: Celebration of Learning Program documents the following family, student, and school personnel needs to support the formal, non-formal, and informal learning opportunities to promote adjustment in resettlement:

- Access to resources and programs to support academic and social growth;
- Resources and training for school staff to meet the needs of English language learners;
- Access to translators/interpreters to help with orientation process and communication with parents; and
- Effective school and community-based resources for parents that support their role as citizens, wage earners, and informed participants in guiding their children's educational and social development.

5.2.6.5 English Language Training – Greater ‘Living City’¹² Literacy Council (GLCLC) – and Pleasantville Family Learning Center

These two resettlement agency partners are located in the heart of the neighborhood housing complex of the Sudanese refugee participants in this study.

The Greater ‘Living City’ Literacy Council, apart from the school district and Project Freedom Collaborative program, serves as the primary source of adult language training for the Sudanese refugee participants. The English as a Second Language or English for Speakers of Other Languages classes are held in the neighborhood setting or in the downtown office complex. As stated earlier, language training is necessary to the resettlement agency funding to satisfy federal immigration program requirements, state integration policy mandates, and refugee communication and rapid employment placement needs. The Greater ‘Living City’ Literacy Council is a strategic resettlement partner contributing to the language and communication skills of the Sudanese refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania. This formal education for the Sudanese refugee participants is consistent with the Moreland and Lovett (1997) education as outreach to

¹² Pseudonym for the specific region in Southwestern Pennsylvania in which study participants reside part of name of language training organization

widen the access and personal development of the refugees toward their adjustment goals. The Sudanese refugee participants repeatedly acknowledge the importance of effective communication in the receiving community – in the immediate community, the place of employment, and in the larger receiving community in transit between the neighborhood and employment or place of worship. The Sudanese refugee participants' acknowledgement of the importance of effective communication is consistent with research of Masgoret and Ward (2006) that asserts the importance and significance of the newcomer's ability to speak the language as a success factor for making cross-cultural transitions. The Sudanese refugees' perceptions concur with research of Clement, Noels, and Deneault (2001) that views language as a dynamic instrument of contact, a tool of communication and thinking, and a transmitter of culture and tradition.

The Pleasantville Family Learning Center is operated under the auspices of the Allegheny County Family Support Policy Board. The Pleasantville Family Learning Center principally provides non-formal and informal education opportunities for the Sudanese refugee participants. The location within the neighborhood complex provides great accessibility to the family-focused programming from the Pleasantville Family Learning Center. Non-formal and informal education programs are directed toward needs of families with children from zero to five years of age, and of mothers, women, and couples. The Pleasantville Family Learning Center operates in conjunction with the local religious congregations to distribute food, clothing, and school supplies. There are programs that focus on assisting refugee couples with coping strategies and tools for dealing with parent-child issues around managing homework and parent-teacher relationships. Pleasantville Family Learning Center provides programs through Active Relationships and Healthy Family Series that introduce strategies that are acceptable in this

resettlement community to address how husbands and wives can resolve issues. This type of non-formal programming is consistent with the Moreland and Lovett (1997) description of raising awareness of issues and problem solving. The program is instructive using a nationally recognized curriculum but allows for participant-learner involvement.

5.2.6.6 Sudanese Community Organization

The Sudanese Community is part of the network that provides support through non-formal and informal education opportunities to newly arrived Sudanese refugees. There is an effective partnering strategy with other resettlement partners along with the specific assistance that Sudanese Community Organization provides. But the strength of the Sudanese Community Organization for the refugees in Southwestern Pennsylvania is their social supportive network ties offered (Bailey & Waldinger, 1991; Keel & Drew, 2004). The Sudanese Community Organization meets the cultural needs of the Sudanese refugees at the deepest level where the basics of underlying assumptions exist and where unconscious taken-for-granted beliefs, perceptions, and feelings are found (Schein, 1992). In a resettlement community where refugees are a visible minority, as is the case of Sudanese refugees, and social distance (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965; Alba & Nee, 1997) and spatial isolation (Zhou, 1997) was initially high, the nurturing and affirming environment of the Sudanese Community Organization provides an alternative for the Sudanese refugees as the mutual change of acculturation that Berry (2001) advances is realized.

5.2.7 Education and Occupational Adjustment

Financial self-reliance is the emphasis of the United States and other large industrialized nations' resettlement policies. The Sudanese refugee study participants recognize the importance of education to their economic adjustment and success in adjustment as evidenced in their responses in which they consider education the key to their employment opportunities. Their perception is consistent with Stein's (1979, 1981) research that proposes occupational and economic adjustment as crucial to adult refugees' acculturation in a new country. This study reveals that the federal government considers education important enough to the accelerated employment placement that it links resettlement volunteer agency program funding to the specific formal education experience of language training. The resettlement volunteer agency has documented that nine out of the 14 Sudanese refugee study participants completed the language-training requirement for employment services and placement. For the five study participants whose requirement was not documented there was no need for concern because they are also employed. In point of fact one of the five had such excellent English language skills that he assists in employment application preparation of other refugees when requested by the resettlement volunteer agency.

With the continued increase in the numbers of refugees and immigrants in the United States there is continued interest in the economic and occupational adjustment of refugee settlers (Chiswick & Hurst, 2000). Consistent with the Finnan (1981) research on how a pattern of acculturation would determine how a refugee would approach occupational identity, the Sudanese refugees strongly oriented toward integrative acculturation are reliant on their pre-migration education and acquired English language training to quickly secure employment in resettlement. The average period of time from landing at resettlement to employment was a

relatively quick two to three months for the male pilot and actual study participants. The timeframe until employment was longer for the women study participants due to family and child care situations. Unlike the Vietnamese refugees in the Finnan (1981) research it is not the desire of the Sudanese refugees to remold themselves to ‘fit’ the role of the dominant culture of the receiving society. Their desire is to obtain the necessary language skills and preparation for gainful employment (Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Chiswick, 2000) to satisfy their safety and security needs. They want to be able to send support back to Sudan while maintaining their Sudanese culture in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Chiswick’s (2000) research on the effects of duration of residence on employment and fluency in the destination language as a form of human capital may have bearing on an employment issue raised by the Sudanese refugee study participants

5.2.8 Education and the Social Construct of Power

The Sudanese refugee study participants perceive that education has made a significant difference in their ability to secure initial employment but are disillusioned with the lack of employment mobility, improved status, and/or greater employment opportunities that are more closely matched to their training and education especially for those with advanced training obtained in the United States. Although none of the study participants indicate having been directly involved with any overt discriminatory practices at their places of employment or in general, the lack of improved employment opportunities has raised questions concerning how their formal, non-formal, and/or informal education overcome this issue of underemployment. Having obtained the education credentialing as noted in the Meyer (1977) and Finnan (1981) research, this study points to the Chiswick (2000) research on fluency in the destination language

as a form of human capital and as a precursor for productivity and enhanced earnings in the labor market. However, the questionable underemployment issue is a continued mystery for the integrative acculturation oriented Sudanese whose resettlement early employment milestones coupled with the pre-migration education advantage are consistent with the research of Granovetter (1973, 1985) and Burt (1992). Waldinger's (1996) research provides additional insights into the importance of *new* interpersonal ties or information networks for non-dominant refugee groups made of intercultural contact with the receiving society for economic self-sufficiency.

Stewart's (1993) research confirms this study's findings on the importance of formal and non-formal education-related activities as a pathway to adjustment, increase in personal competencies, and self esteem of the refugees. However, the research of Hoyles (1977) and Moreau (1984) extends the importance of language education to have a role in controlling access to economic resources, political institution, and power. Norton's (2000) research on power as socially constructed relations among individuals, institutions, and communities through which symbolic and material resources are produced, distributed, and validated has utility in this language fluency issue in its relationship to the social encounters produced within language between the refugees and their employers that have a differential access to symbolic and material resources that affects the refugee adjustment experience.

Norton's (2000) research also has utility for consideration of how racial issues are important in the differentiation of experiences of immigrants/ refugees of color from immigrants/ refugees of European descent. Sudanese refugees', in SWPA, concerns were more central to their ethnicity and religion relative to the maintenance of their cultural heritage as they perceived their acculturation in adjustment. Research of Swigart (2001) regarding African immigrants and 'race'

states, “Many Africans are unused to living in a society where ‘race’ is a defining factor” (p. 13). Swigart (2001) notes that the African immigrants do not think of themselves as ‘Black’ prior to arrival in the United States.

The Sudanese refugees in this study recognize that they were identified as ‘Black’ people and associated with African Americans and expressed concern for the lack of respect observed in relationships between youths of color and youth in SWPA in general and between youths and senior adults in public. The literature on African immigrants describes the refugees’ concern about the potential for their children to acquire behavioral problems of U.S. youth, or to display dissonant attitudes to their pre-migration culture and values and/or to be associated with and similarly treated as the African American youth. The Swigart (2001) research on African immigrants in Pennsylvania, specifically in Philadelphia, documents perspectives of Eritreans that noted in their culture that people are not identified by color, as well as discusses the Nigerian sentiment that wished that race relations in the U.S. were further evolved and are now worrying about their son being mistaken and affected by what they have observed concerning racial profiling done to African Americans. Interestingly, the Swigart (2001) research captures a positive reaction from southern Sudanese that found the U.S. to be less racially polarized having fared better since resettlement in Philadelphia than their experience prior to flight in Sudan or their experience in settlement in Egypt.

It is not clear if the experience of **Mrs. Participant #5** highlighted in the discussion would be exactly the same for an African American single mother of five small children since the English language issues were central to her adjustment challenges. Yet since she would have been identified first as a woman of color without knowledge of her nationality or ethnicity it is possible that response from the dominant culture of SWPA would have been similar.

Tollefson (1993) posits a deficit in the social exchange on the part of the refugee suggesting that the federal government education provision equips the refugee for only the lowest rungs of the social and economic ladder in resettlement. Tollefson's (1993) research as applied to the Sudanese refugee underemployment situation suggests that although a language training requirement is linked to resettlement agency funding for the refugee early employment preparation, it is purposefully designed to be limiting to those intended to benefit from the training. The education, from Tollefson's (1993) perspective, is intended only to serve the labor policy objectives of the receiving society, not to optimize the employment opportunities of the refugee program participants.

The outstanding positive attitude of the Sudanese study participants toward self sufficiency and adjustment that is documented by the resettlement agency is consistent with Zou's (1998) strategy or pedagogy of hope to empower refugees to participate in their own learning in resettlement. This participative learner education strategy is captured in the Moreland and Lovett (1997) formal, non-formal, and informal education section of their typology. Norton (2000) supports the Moreland and Lovett (1997) formal, non-formal, and informal collaborative education strategy where learners may be able to question their relationship to varied larger social processes at work and/or in the receiving society, challenge those social practices of marginalization, and discover ways to enhance their own personal capacities of adjustment in resettlement.

5.3 IMPLICATIONS

5.3.1 Research Implications

This qualitative study examines the broad acculturation experience of Sudanese refugees and how they perceive that formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences provide pathways for the social, political, and economic influences of their adjustment experience in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The present study contributes to the literature beyond findings of many refugee studies in the specific study of Sudanese refugees in a non-gateway metropolitan area, with a focus other than the economic or occupational adjustment measure, which is typically the focus of refugee resettlement in compliance with United States resettlement policy. The study is limited to the Sudanese refugees in a specific locale of Southwestern Pennsylvania, and at the time of the research the majority of the Sudanese refugee study participants had been in the Southwestern Pennsylvania area for six years or less. As many studies have recognized, the length of residence is an important factor in the adjustment process. Adjustment of the refugees in this study is conceptualized through some subjective and some objective aspects of the pathways formed by formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences that facilitate the social, political, and economic/occupational influences to their adjustment experience. These aspects are described and perceived by the Sudanese refugees from their responses to qualitative inquiry on the phenomenon. Qualitative inquiry into the perceptions of their goals and objectives and realization of same in resettlement combined with their perceptions on their acquisition of some of the resettlement agency indicators of adjustment – language, employment, housing, driver’s license, managing bills and credit – provides insight into the current attitudes and perceptions of the Sudanese adjustment phenomenon. The local collaborative with its diverse

membership capabilities and the variety of formal, non-formal, and informal education activities offered through the school district, community family learning center, and religious congregations to address the social, political, and economic/occupational adjustment remains a resource for further research on coping mechanisms yet to be fully tapped.

The study is exploratory and addresses several aspects of the adjustment experience generally. A more in depth study on each aspect of the phenomenon may yield more conclusive evidence. This study does not address the extant literature related to gender issues in forced migration or the resettlement experience beyond the perceptions uncovered in responses to the interview protocol from the male and female participants in this study regarding their participation in the formal and non-formal education opportunities available in the community. In addition, a longitudinal study in the same locale would reinforce or provide greater insights into the acculturation patterns and the utility of formal, non-formal, and informal education experiences to facilitate the social, political, and economic influences of adjustment. The Southwestern Pennsylvania study locale differs significantly from the Philadelphia region on the eastern side of the Commonwealth. Southeastern Pennsylvania has a greater number of all refugee arrivals and also a greater number of Sudanese refugee arrivals. It would also add to the literature on this underrepresented ethnocultural group to have a comparison of the adjustment experiences between the two locales for the same refugee population.

This study concludes that there are no intra-group Sudanese relations issues that surfaced between the Muslims from North Sudan and South Sudanese Christians in resettlement in Southwestern Pennsylvania. Since there is a paucity in the research of refugees in resettlement in the United States from sub-Saharan African countries, perhaps a study of Black Christian and Muslim refugees would provide insights on differences in acculturation patterns and adjustment

strategies for not only Sudanese but comparatively among Sudanese, Somalis, and Liberians in resettlement.

5.3.2 Policy Implications

The resettlement agency's principal focus has been assisting the refugees at their point of landing through an initial period toward the objective of self-sufficiency in the economic environment of the United States in compliance with the United States Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) stated Resettlement Program guidelines. The success of that resettlement policy is challenging since it is dependent on so many factors beyond the control of the resettlement agencies charged with compliance with the program objectives. Part of the challenge with this study is that there is limited involvement with the refugees after they have met the initial requirements for the fast track to employment, which satisfies the United States Resettlement Program. Having also conducted interviews at the resettlement agency, there are a multitude of cultural backgrounds; the variance in exposure to Western culture is large and is dependent on whether the refugees' home-related factors are more urban or rural based. As is evidenced in this study the refugees' forced migration experiences and pre-migration education experiences are significant factors in their adjustment experience. Another factor highlighted by this study for policy consideration is whether the refugee has some English-speaking skills and ability as is supported by past research. The Sudanese refugee study participants in all cases are literate in the language of their homeland and in almost all cases have some English-speaking language skills. These areas of differences with refugee populations, and in some cases even within refugee cohorts, heighten the possibility that the United States Resettlement Program or the implementation of the ORR 'fast track' to employment through the state integration policy which is constrained by the

timelines is not effective as a one-program-fits-all application. Notwithstanding the remarkable resilience of the refugees and the persistence of the resettlement agency staff members and their resettlement program affiliates to reach federal government objectives, this Sudanese refugee study's findings offer some considerations or recommendations for enhanced program effectiveness.

There is a need to relate refugees' perceived needs and adjustment outcomes to program objectives. During the data collection process, while attending a meeting of the local collaborative at the school district that serves the Sudanese refugees, a question was raised from a member of the collaborative about the need for research on the use and benefit of services received or needed by the refugees beyond the window of the initial resettlement service period. The motivation for the research question is explained as an interest in the benefit of delivery of services for future vintages of Sudanese arrivals and also to determine how the adjustment predictors from the existing Initial Service Plan schedules and provisions relate to the actual adjustment experienced in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The Sudanese refugee study participants had been in the Southwestern Pennsylvania area for approximately six years or less. The majority of the study participants is capable and was successful in securing early entry-level employment within three months or less, thus satisfying the resettlement agency Initial Service and Employment Plans. The findings of this study concur with the theorists on the importance of pre-migration education, the acculturative strength in collaboration for the newcomer and the receiving society in valuing cultural heritage, mutual accommodation and intergroup relations. Yet upon reflection, the researcher questions if compliance with the federal immigration and state integration policies has limiting effects on the adjustment of the Sudanese refugees. The question for further policy implications remains: do the program structure, funding, and timelines

for satisfaction of **minimum** education requirements for early employment objectives limit the Sudanese refugees' potential for full employment and personal goals achieved in resettlement?

APPENDIX A

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS REFUGEES/IMMIGRANTS

Migration Information Source specifies two broad distinctions for the composition of the population in the United States, **native** and **foreign born**. Those two classifications encompass the other categories of migrants, specifically forced migrants or refugees, the focus of this study.

Native: People residing in the United States who were United States citizens in one of three categories: (1) people born in one of the 50 states and District of Columbia; (LaFromboise) people born in United States Insular Areas such as Puerto Rico or Guam; or (3) people who were born abroad to at least one parent who was a United States citizen.

Foreign Born: People residing in the United States on census day who were not United States citizens at birth. The foreign-born population includes immigrants, legal non immigrants (e.g., refugees and persons on student or work visas), and persons illegally residing in the United States.

Refugee: A person outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinions.

Sojourners (Also referred to in literature as ‘Middle Man’ Minorities): An alien who has moved across the border of their country of origin in search of economic opportunity. Their intention is to return to their homeland after accumulation of sufficient economic gain.

Immigrant/(Economic Migrant): An immigrant is a person who moved permanently from one country to another to pursue better opportunities on a voluntary basis (personal choice), and who before that migration had a destination in mind. The legal immigrant is one who entered the United States as a legal permanent resident, who is eligible to apply for citizenship after five years of continuous residence.

Undocumented/Illegal (Alien) Immigrant: Those individuals, who have fled their countries of origin possibly under duress in search of residency, yet have not followed the prescribed legal/regulatory process for admission into the United States or country in which they are seeking asylum. In some cases the category includes a student, a visitor or temporary employee, and those who stay after their visa has expired. In addition, a ‘temporary protected status’ may be awarded due to extraordinary circumstances in designated sending countries. This status may be terminated at any time.

Immigrants are identified by generation:

- First-generation immigrants are foreign-born individuals who moved to the United States;
- Second-generation immigrants were born in the United States to at least one foreign-born parent. Children born abroad who moved to the United States at a very young age are included in this category as the 1.5 generation; and
- Third-generation immigrants were native-born to native-born parents, and are often viewed as non-immigrants.

Forced Migrants or Forced Displacement: A general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects.

Internally Displaced People (IDPs): Those who may have moved for the same reasons as refugees but have not crossed an international boundary. The UNHCR may take responsibility for them, in which case they are included in statistics on people of concern to UNHCR.

People in Refugee-like Situations: Those who are stateless or denied the protection of the government in their countries of citizenship, origin or habitual residence, but who have not been recognized as refugees.¹³ The refugee-like situation was previously not as critical a characterization; however, in our current era of ‘security’ this stateless situation has become more precarious.

Asylum seekers: Asylum seekers are persons who have fled their countries of nationality as a result of armed conflict, violence, persecution, human rights violations, etc., and are seeking protection and immunity from forced return by the government of the country in which they are seeking asylum. If, when adjudicated, their claim is found to be legitimate, they may be granted refugee status.¹⁴

¹³ An example of this descriptor is Bedouin in Kuwait or Iraq and Burmese in Thailand or Malaysia.

¹⁴ For the most part, asylum seekers are individuals who have, by any of a variety of means, transported themselves to the country in which they are seeking asylum. In contrast, refugees are people who have fled their countries of nationality for reasons of persecution described above. For the most part, however, refugees flee en masse, often by foot, into the nearest neighboring country (the vast majority of Rwandan refugees, for example, fled to Tanzania and

Formal Education: Encompasses Basic Education, which refers to a system of providing primary and lower secondary education as well as alternative education programs for out-of-school youth and adults. Primary, secondary and tertiary education refers to the administrative categories, which divide the formal school system into grades. Primary education usually refers to the stage of schooling oriented towards key 'school-leaving examinations,' and 'tertiary' refers to university and other professional/technical courses with similar requirements.

Non-formal Education: Refers to the provision of education, which is organized in less formal settings and environments and with less structured activities, which do not necessarily lead to recognized certificates and diplomas. Non-formal Education may include such activities as vocational trainings, life skills education, and adult literacy classes (UNHCR, 2006).

Informal Education: The lifelong process by which every person acquires knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment – whether at home, work, or at play. Informal education is unorganized and perhaps also unsystematic, yet it accounts for the bulk of any person's total lifetime learning (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974).

APPENDIX B

APPROVAL LETTERS IRB



University of Pittsburgh

School of Education
Department of Administrative and Policy Studies

5902 Wesley W. Posvar Hall
230 South Bouquet Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
412-648-7101
Fax: 412-648-1784

December 18, 2006

Mrs. Lori Keefer
Program Director
Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council
411 Seventh Ave. Suite 525
Pittsburgh, PA 15219

Dear Mrs. Keefer

I am currently a doctoral student in Social and Comparative Analysis, Administrative and Policy Studies - School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. My research will study the phenomenon of English language learning or the role of English as a Second Language or learning English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESL/ESOL) in the adjustment process of refugees resettled in the United States specifically Southwestern Pennsylvania.

This study is primarily anchored in John W. Berry's (1990, 1999, 2001) theoretical framework of acculturation that considers the cultural, social and policy components of immigration. The research will also draw on the theory of Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal to associate the intercultural strategies of acculturation with immigration and integration policy of the United States and in particular Southwestern Pennsylvania and Stein's (1979) occupation adjustment theory. Chiswick, Lee and Miller (1995), and Chiswick, Hurst (2000) theory on language and adjustment will support the research with respect to their proposal on the importance of proficiency in the destination language for refugees and immigrants in the receiving society for socio economic adjustment and financial self-reliance, a keystone of the United States resettlement policy.

I plan to conduct the research with refugees resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania as the participants in my study. Alexander Dow and Danielle Evonich have been interesting and informative about the mission of the Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council and the ESL/ESOL program components. I am requesting your approval, as Program Director of the Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council to request the participation of refugees that are in the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages program of the Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council.

The study will be conducted using structured, open-ended, tape-recorded interviews with the refugees that are in the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages program of the Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council. The interviews will be conducted face-to-face and if necessary for follow up via telephone, at an agreed upon location. All responses are confidential and participants' anonymity will be assured. Subject names and the qualitative interview narrative will be filed separately. Only a subject number will appear on the transcribed narrative. Each participant's participation is voluntary, and they may withdraw at any time.

Please indicate your approval as requested signing one copy of this letter and returning it to me in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Attached please find the interview protocol. I can be reached at 412. 721.4743 for any questions or comments. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lutitia A. Clipper

Greater Pittsburgh Literacy Council Approval for Study

Name

Date

12/19/06



University of Pittsburgh

School of Education

Department of Administrative and Policy Studies

December 21, 2006

5805 Wesley W. Posvar Hall
250 South Bouquet Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
412-648-7101
Fax: 412-648-1784

Mr. John Miller
Director, Refugee Services
Catholic Charities
212 Ninth Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

Dear Mr. Miller,

I am currently a doctoral student in Social and Comparative Analysis, Administrative and Policy Studies - School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. My research will study the phenomenon of English language learning or the role of English as a Second Language or Learning English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESL/ESOL) in the adjustment process of refugees resettled in the United States specifically Southwestern Pennsylvania.

This study is primarily anchored in John W. Berry's (1990-1999, 2001) theoretical framework of acculturation that considers the cultural, social and policy components of immigration. The research will also draw on the theory of Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal to associate the intercultural strategies of acculturation with immigration and integration policy of the United States and in particular Southwestern Pennsylvania and Stein's (1979) occupation adjustment theory. Chiswick, Lee and Miller (1995), and Chiswick, Hurst (2000) theory on language and adjustment will support the research with respect to their proposal on the importance of proficiency in the destination language for refugees and immigrants in the receiving society for socio economic adjustment and financial self-reliance, a keystone of the United States resettlement policy.

I plan to conduct the research with refugees resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania as the participants in my study. As my coursework and research requirements have progressed it has been my pleasure to have become acquainted with key members of your organization that have provided insight into my research work in the persons of the former Executive Director Sr. Cairns, J. Menachaca, Suzette Venturini and currently Holly Coleman. This letter serves as my formal request for your approval, as Director of Refugee Services of the participation from the refugees that are recipients of refugee services and/or referred by you to the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages programming with your affiliates.

The study will be conducted using structured, open-ended, tape-recorded interviews with the refugees that are in the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages programming/classes. The interviews will be conducted face-to-face and if necessary for follow up via telephone, at an agreed upon location. All responses are confidential and participants' anonymity will be assured. Subject names and the qualitative interview narrative will be filed separately. Only a subject number will appear on the transcribed narrative. Each participant's participation is voluntary, and they may withdraw at any time.

Please indicate your approval as requested signing one copy of this letter and returning it to me in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Attached please find the interview protocol. I can be reached at 412. 721.4743 for any questions or comments. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lurita A. Clipper
Lurita A. Clipper
Catholic Charities

Name John Miller, Director
Refugee Services Program

Date

12/21/06



University of Pittsburgh

School of Education

Department of Administrative and Policy Studies

5902 Wesley W. Posvar Hall
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February 18, 2007

Dr. Yinka Aganga Williams
Executive Director
Acculturation for Justice, Access and Peace Outreach (AJAPO)
St. Benedict the Moor Roman Catholic Church
91 Crawford Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15219

Dear Dr. Williams,

I am currently a doctoral student in Social and Comparative Analysis, Administrative and Policy Studies – School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. My research will study the phenomenon of English language learning or the role of English as a Second Language or learning English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESL/ESOL) in the adjustment process of refugees resettled in the United States specifically Southwestern Pennsylvania.

This study is primarily anchored in John W. Berry's (1990-1999, 2001) theoretical framework of acculturation that considers the cultural, social and policy components of immigration. The research will also draw on the theory of Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal to associate the intercultural strategies of acculturation with immigration and integration policy of the United States and in particular Southwestern Pennsylvania and Stein's (1979) occupation adjustment theory. Chiswick, Lee and Miller (1995), and Chiswick, Hurst (2000) theory on language and adjustment will support the research with respect to their proposal on the importance of proficiency in the destination language for refugees and immigrants in the receiving society for socio economic adjustment and financial self-reliance, a keystone of the United States resettlement policy.

I plan to conduct the research with refugees resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania as the participants in my study. This letter serves as my formal request for your approval, as Executive Director of AJAPO of the participation from the refugees that are recipients of refugee services and/or referred by you to the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages programming with your affiliates.

The study will be conducted using structured, open-ended, tape-recorded interviews with the refugees that are in the English Second Language/English for Speakers of Other Languages programming/classes. The interviews will be conducted face-to-face and if necessary for follow up via telephone, at an agreed upon location. Focus groups may be included as part of the design of the study due to the value of this method in refugee research (Maynard & Purvis, 1994). All responses are confidential and participants' anonymity will be assured. Subject names and the qualitative interview narrative will be filed separately. Only a subject number will appear on the transcribed narrative. Each participant's participation is voluntary, and they may withdraw at any time.

Please indicate your approval as requested signing one copy of this letter and returning it to me in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Attached please find the interview protocol. I can be reached at 412. 721.4743 for any questions or comments. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lutitia A. Clipper

Lutitia A. Clipper

AJAPO

Name

Date



University of Pittsburgh *Institutional Review Board*

Exempt and Expedited Reviews

University of Pittsburgh FWA: 00006790
University of Pittsburgh Medical Center: FWA 00006735
Children's Hospital of Pittsburgh: FWA 00000600

3500 Fifth Avenue
Suite 100
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
Phone: 412.383.1480
Fax: 412.383.1508

TO: Ms. Lutitia Clipper

FROM: Christopher M. Ryan, PhD, Vice Chair *Chris*

DATE: February 19, 2007

PROTOCOL: The Role of English for Speakers of Other Languages in the Adjustment Process of Adult Sudanese Refugees Resettled in Southwestern Pennsylvania

IRB Number: 0701032

The above-referenced protocol has been reviewed by the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board. Based on the information provided in the IRB protocol, this project meets all the necessary criteria for an exemption, and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2).

- If any modifications are made to this project, please submit an 'exempt modification' form to the IRB.
- Please advise the IRB when your project has been completed so that it may be officially terminated in the IRB database.
- This research study may be audited by the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office.

Approval Date: February 19, 2007

CR:kh

Informational/Introductory Script

The purpose of this research is to study the experience of English Language Learning and to determine the role of English as a Second Language (ESL/ESOL) in the adjustment process of refugees resettled in the United States, specifically in Southwestern Pennsylvania. The study will give you the opportunity to tell how learning English has helped or not helped you in your everyday tasks, to interact with your family, community, those who are native English language speakers, or others with similar language skills as you, and how the language has or has not affected your job. Language skills are an important part of adjustment to a new environment, people, and culture. Adjustment is described in different ways related to interaction between the newcomers and the receiving society. Having the necessary skills to communicate what one needs in a new environment is important to move from survival to satisfaction in first or secondary resettlement. For that reason, you are requested to participate in a face-to-face or focus group taped recorded interview (approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour) at the place where the English Second Languages (ESL/ESSOL) classes are held to talk about your experiences learning English as a Second Language or as someone learning English as a Speaker of Other Languages. There are neither risks nor benefits associated with this project. All responses are confidential and the results will be kept under lock and key. Therefore a risk of disclosure of your responses is minimal. Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw at any time. Your time and participation is appreciated. This study is being conducted by Lutitia Clipper, who can be reached at 412.721.4743 to participate or if you have any questions.

APPENDIX C

RESETTLEMENT EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT

Resettlement Agency local affiliate of National (Volag) – Catholic Charities

Pleasantville, Pa – Pseudonym for the neighborhood of the Sudanese study participants

Great Living City Literacy Council (GLCLC) - Non Profit Organization provider of Formal Education - ESL/ESOL and Non-formal education activities





Project Freedom: Celebration of Learning – Pseudonym for local Collaborative Association based at School District

Pleasantville Family Learning Center – Neighborhood Center for Non Formal and Informal Education activities and learning experiences

Acculturation for Justice, Access and Peace Outreach (AJAPO) – Mutual Assistance Association

APPENDIX D

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